937
Lev
1333

00001333

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020

Dinkar Shivram

T[illegible]LIVII PATAVINI
HISTORIA[illegible]M AB URBE CONDITA
LIBRI XXI., XXII.

LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME

BOOKS XXI., XXII.

DURING THE SECOND PUNIC WAR B.C. 219 TO B.C. 216

Edited with English Notes

By W. BROWNRIDG SMITH, M.A.

HEAD MASTER OF THE [illegible] LONDON FREEMEN'S ASYLUM

FOR THE USE OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
LIBRARY

Capio Lumen

LON[illegible]
K[illegible]
[illegible]

ADVERTISEMENT.

The present edition of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books of Livy follows the very excellent text of Alschefski, founded, as it is, on a new and very carefully conducted recension of the manuscripts, especially of the well-known *Codex Puteanus*. From this text no departure has been made, except in the spelling of a few words, and in the substitution of *es* for *is* in those cases in which the termination of the accusative plural of words, whose genitive plural ends in *ium*, is formerly written.

With respect to the explanatory notes appended to this volume, I have to acknowledge great obligations to the Latin commentaries of Alschefski, Crevier, and Ruperti, and to the German Commentaries of Fabri and Weis-

T. LIVI PATAVINI

HISTORIARUM

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXI.

EPITOME.

[In Italiam] belli Punici secundi ortus narratur, et Hannibalis Pœnorum ducis contra fœdus per Iberum amnem transitus, a quo Saguntum, sociorum populi Romani civitas, obsessa octavo mense capta est. De quibus injuriis missi legati ad Carthaginienses, qui quererentur. Quum satisfacere nollent, bellum iis indictum est. Hannibal, superato Pyrenæo saltu, per Gallias, fusis Volscis, qui obsistere conati erant, ad Alpes venit; et laborioso per eas transitu (quum montanos quoque Gallos obvios aliquot præliis repulisset) descendit in Italiam, et ad Ticinum amnem Romanos equestri prælio fudit: in quo vulneratum P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea nomen accepit. Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam fuso, Hannibal Apenninum quoque, per magnam militum vexationem propter vim tempestatum, transiit. Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispania contra Pœnos prospere pugnavit, duce hostium Magone capto.

---

1. In parte operis [illegible] licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus [illegible] civitates [illegible] contulerunt arma, neque [illegible] tantum virium aut roboris fuit; et haud [illegible] inter [illegible] per se pacto Punico [illegible] duo Mars [illegible]

imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem puerîliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris jurejurando adactum, se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant animum Punicæ opes, virtus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: [illegible] rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

II. His auxus curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret nusquam illum quam quod fereret agitare in animo bellum et, dum vivisset, Hamilcare duce Pœnos arma Italiæ inlaturos esse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris pe[illegible] oppectuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medium Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo fermo annos imperium obtinuit, flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus genere inde ob aliam indolem, profecto animi, adscitus, et, qui genet erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sano voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitii magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novi gentibus quam bello aut armis rebo Carthaginiensium auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus cum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtrectaret, comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo [illegible] habitu ora ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem [illegible] bucrit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mire artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo [illegible] fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis [illegible] imperii esset Amnis Iberus, saguntinisque medius [illegible] inviolatum populorum libertas servaretur.

III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin prærogativum [illegible] qua ex templo juvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus [illegible] omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus [illegible] sequentes. Hunc virum patrum [illegible] accersit; atque res etiam in senatu [illegible] ut adolescens militiæ Hannibal atque [illegible] esset opus. Hunc, mirifica [illegible] videtur [illegible] censeo quæ [illegible] Cum [illegible] sententia [illegible] Hasdrubal [illegible] Hannibalis [illegible]

" præbuit, justo ipse cum a filio repeti censet: nos tamen
" minime decet juventutem nostram pro militari rudimento ad-
" suefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris
" filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem
" videat et, cujus regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus
" nostri, ejus filio parum maturo serviamus? Ego istum juve-
" nem domi tenendum, sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum
" vivere æquo jure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic
" ignis incendium ingens excitet."

IV. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni assentiebantur, sed, ut plerumque fit, major pars meliorem vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi ipsius milites credere; eumdem vigorem in vultu vitaque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri: dein brevi effecit ut paternæ minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit: itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat: caloris ac frigoris patientia par: cibi potionisque desiderio naturali non voluptate modus finitus. Vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum: ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum, humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in prælium ibat, ultimus conserto prælio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deorum metus, nulla jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperitavit, multa ibi, quæ agenda videndaque in magno futuro duce erant, præterea.

V. Ceterum ea quæ dies dux est [illegible]
provincia [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

berum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non potisse Saguntinos sed rerum seriem, finitimis domitis gentibus, jungendoque, tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque, quo metu perculsæ minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere: victor exercitus opulentusque præda Carthaginem novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendioque præterito cum fide exsolvendo, cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala eorum urbes vi captæ. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi exulibus Oleadum prioro ætate domitæ gentis, cum se junxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccæis haud procul Tago flumine agmen gravi præda turbavere. Hannibal prælio abstinuit, castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado trajecit, valloque ita producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur peditum agmen: in ripa elephantos, quadraginta autem erant, disponit. Carpetanorum cum stipendiis Oleadum Vaccæorumque centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio qua cuique proximum est in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen fluxisse, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ne vix vado fidens vel ab ingenti equite, equo tenere acto, percurti posset, equos corpore, armisque ferox, æquo vel pro medio gurgites cietur, commixta cuncta rerumque generatim. Pars imagon[illegible] omine abrupta; [illegible] elephantis obtriti sunt; postremi, quibus [illegible] tutior fuit ex varia trepidatione cum [illegible] pavore reciperent animos. [illegible] Carpetanos quoque in fugam [illegible] Romani prater Saguntinos Car-

[illegible] bellum [illegible] rat, ceterum [illegible] certamina [illegible] maxime [illegible] cum adesset [illegible] nec certamen [illegible] vim [illegible] Romam [illegible]

auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie inminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus: qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum, et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque inferendum bellum: erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam rectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hæc sententia, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit: legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in pœnam fœderis rupti deposcendum.

VII. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Iberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis: ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinæ sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera circa, vallem vergens: adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries mœnibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat: et turris ingens inminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et juventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati, deinde jam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat, quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineæ cœptæ agi, admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Pœnus; ad centum quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur: oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri cœpti sunt. Non sufficiebant: itaque jam feriebantur arietibus muri quassatæque multæ partes erant. Una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti procidere. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Pœni, qua, velut si par utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum e Nihil tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat, quales in oppugnationibu urbium per occasionem partis alterius conciri solent, sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Pœno cepisse jam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum se locum hostem inmitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabatur, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum, hastili abiegno, et cetero tereti præterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum extabat: id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant, linebantque pice: ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si hæsisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur, conceptumque ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præbebat.

IX. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde inpeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt. Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est: quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent, nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ præmittit, ut præpararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis posset.

X. Itaque præterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque inrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam fœderis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos fœderum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, "Ne Romanum cum Saguntino sus-"citarent bellum. Monuisse, prædixisse se, ne Hamilcaris "progeniem ad exercitum mitterent: non manes, non stirpem "ejus conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominis-"que Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana fœdera:" "Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id "cernentem, si ei bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legioni-"busque vivat, velut materiam igni præbentes, ad exercitus "misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. "Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur "fœdere: mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones "ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta fœdera sunt "ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi "ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus "imperator vester in castra non admisit, jus gentium sustulit: "hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi ad "vos venerunt: res ex fœdere repetuntur: publica fraus absit, "auctorem culpæ et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius "agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum cœperint, vereor ne per-"severantius sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycemque ante oculos "proponite, quæ terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos "passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat sed pater. Ipse Hamilcar, "Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non "abstinueramus ex fœdere, sicut nunc Sagunti non abstinemus. "Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque, et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, "uter populus fœdus rupisset, eventus belli velut æquus judex, "unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal "vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis mœnia quatit ariete: "Sagunti ruinæ, falsus utinam vates sim, nostris capitibus "incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum "Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. "Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas "inimicitias: sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lætatus sum, quod, "si ille viveret, bellum jam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc "juvenem tanquam furiam facemque hujus belli odi ac detestor: "nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti fœderis sed, si nemo "deposcit, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, "ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque ejus accedere, "neque ille sollicitare quietæ civitatis statum possit. Ego ita "censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satis-

"faciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto "abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex fœdere Romanis dedant: 'tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."

XI. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit, adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, "bellum ortum ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale esse: populum "Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimæ Cartha- "giniensium societati præponat." Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem prœliis operibusque habebat, paucorum his dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando nunc spe præmiorum accendit: ut vero pro contione prædam captæ urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a prœliis quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est; nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quæ cum admota, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod cæmenta non calce durata erant sed interlita luto structuræ antiquæ genere. Itaque latius quam qua cæderetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem inminentem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant: sed interiora tuendo minorem indies urbem Saguntini faciunt Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et minuitur expectatio externæ opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, delectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum defectionis cum prœbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

XII. Nec Saguntè oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale, Himilconis filio—cum præfecerat Hannibal—ita inpigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et prælia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque prælium cum multorum utrimque cæde initum, et pars arcis capta est. Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco, insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ movebant, conditionesque tristes, ut ab irato victore, ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans qui sub conditionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento, egressi urbem cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Pœnus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta ad prætorem Saguntinum, et ipse ita jubebat, est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine, senatus Alorco datus est, cujus talis oratio fuit:

XIII. "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad "Hannibalem venit, ita pacis conditiones ab Hannibale ad vos "rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator "Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem. Cum ille aut vestra "aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem, sua, si metum simulavit, "vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus, ego, ne "ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis conditiones, "pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. "Vestra autem causa me, nec ullius alterius, loqui quæ loquor "apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus "restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis um-"quam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis "vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos jam aut arma aut mœnia "satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam "æquam: cujus ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut "victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audiatis; si non id quod "amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid "relinquitur pro munere habituri estis: urbem vobis, quam "ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit; "agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus in quo novum oppidum

"ædificetis: aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, "ad se jubet deferri: corpora vestra, conjugum ac liberorum "vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis "velitis ab Sagunto exire. Hæc victor hostis imperat; hæc, "quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis "suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei "facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum: sed vel hæc "patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi "trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure "sinatis."

XIV. Ad hæc audienda cum, circumfusa passim multitudine, permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi præcipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur: turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam ejus cohors Pœnorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex his, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnæ quam morientes fecerunt?

XV. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti præda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen ætatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniæ redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem. Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere: inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse, quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio

consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est, tantusque simul mœror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne, et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent. Nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque inbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum: Pœnum, hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis, Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro mœnibus Romanis esse.

XVII. Nominatæ jam antea consulibus provinciæ erant; tum sortiri jussi: Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretæ legiones, et socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum millia sunt scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta millia peditum, quatuor millia et quadringenti equites: naves ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent, juberent, populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici: ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Inter consules ita copiæ divisæ: Sempronio datæ legiones duæ, ea quaterna millia erant peditum et treceni equites, et sociorum sedecim millia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longæ centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim: cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Pœnum consul alter satis esset: Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur: navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datæ, neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant, et duæ Romanæ legiones cum suo justo equitatu et quattuordecim millibus socio-

rum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem millia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

XVIII. His ita conparatis, ut omnia justa ante bellum fierent, legatos majores natu Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmilium, C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, fatercntur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior: "tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur, nunc "ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur et, ut a confessis, res "extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quærendum censeam, sed "utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim hæc quæstio atque "animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit "arbitrio: vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per fœdus "fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, "quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum fœdus "est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utro-"rumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis, necdum enim erant socii "vestri, cautum est. At enim eo fœdere, quod cum Hasdrubale "ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil "dicturus sum nisi quod a vobis didici: vos enim, quod C. "Lutatius consul primo nobiscum fœdus fecit, quia neque "auctoritate patrum nec populi jussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo "teneri: itaque aliud de integro fœdus publico consilio ictum "est. Si vos non tenent fœdera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut "jussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis fœdus, quod "nobis insciis fecit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti "atque Hiberi mentionem facere et, quod diu parturit animus "vester, aliquando pariat." Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, "hic" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, "sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, "daret utrum "vellet," subclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso "bellum "dare" dixisset, "accipere se" omnes responderunt "et, quibus "acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos."

XIX. Hæc directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex

dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de fœderum jure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, conparandum erat, cum in Lutati fœdere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset: in Hasdrubalis fœdere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo conprobatum sit fœdus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quamquam, et si priore fœdere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat "iis qui tunc essent," nec "ne qui post ea adsumerentur." Et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis æquum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur. — Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicuti iis Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Pœnis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum pupulos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Inde est ventum ad Volcianos, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: "Quæ verecundia est, Romani, "postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiæ præpo-"namus, cum, qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Pœnus "hostis prodidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratis socios "censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est: Hispanis populis sic-"ut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne "quis fidei Romanæ aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniæ benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

XX. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati—ita mos gentis erat—in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italiæ inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natu juventus sedaretur: adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere in se, agrosque suos pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, "neque Romanorum in se "meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium injuriam, ob quæ aut pro

"Romanis aut adversus Pœnos sumant arma: contra ea audire "sese, gentis suæ homines agro finibusque Italiæ pelli a populo "Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati." Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliæ conciliis dicta auditaque, nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia, ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide, cognita, "præoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse: "sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore—adeo ferocia "atque indomita ingenia esse—ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima "gens est, principum animi concilientur." Ita peragratis Hispaniæ et Galliæ populis, legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem in expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama jam Hiberum Pœnos tramisisse.

XXI. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quæ Romæ, quæque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquis prædæ, nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat: "Credo ego vos," inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis, aut "finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in "alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hæc gentes non "pacis solum sed etiam victoriæ bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gen- "tibus prædam et gloriam quæremus. Itaque cum longinqua a "domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et "quæ cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos "visere vult, commeatum do. Primo vere edicto adsitis, ut, di "bene juvantibus, bellum ingentis gloriæ prædæque futurum in "piamus." Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potest grata erat et jam desiderantibus suos, et longius in futurum pr videntibus desiderium: per totum tempus hiemis quies int labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit co pora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda: vere primo a edictum convenere. Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa, maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani—melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles—velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cætratos misit in Africam, et

funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia conscripta delectæ juventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem jubet.

XXII. Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus—atque id eo haud minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos—Hasdrubali fratri, viro inpigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime præsidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus quingentis. Ad hæc peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphœnices — mixtum Punicum Afris genus—quadringenti quinquaginta, et Numidæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad mille octingenti, et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et ne quid terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis præterea data ad tuendam maritumam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes quinque: sed aptæ instructæque remigio triginta et duæ quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque. Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit, atque inde profectus præter Etovissam urbem ad Hiberum maritumam oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo juvenem divina specie, qui "se ab Jove" diceret "ducem in Italiam "Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se "deflecteret oculos." Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum, deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse eum: vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore cæli nimbum. Tum, "quæ moles "ea quidve prodigii esset," quærentem audisse "vastitatem Italiæ "esse: pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in "occulto esse."

XXIII. Hoc visu lætus tripertito Hiberum copias trajecit, præmissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent, Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit, oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces quæ Hispanias Gallis jungunt in potestate essent. Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium retinendæ regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per

Pyrenæum saltum traduci exercitus est captus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viæ insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi inritarentur, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

XXIV. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenæum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quanquam Italiæ bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida inposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, "conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi "propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, "ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum "eos in castra sua se lætum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos ven- "turum: hospitem enim se Galliæ non hostem advenisse, nec "stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam "venisset." Et per nuntios quidem hæc. Ut vero reguli Gallorum, castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis, haud gravanter ad Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

XXV. In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boii, sollicitatis Insubribus, defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum, Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque, armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiæ mœnibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutati nomen haud dubium est: pro C. Servilio et M. Annio Q. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari cœptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non contra jus modo

gentium sed violata etiam, quæ data in id tempus erat, fide, comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor, ira accensus, effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvæ tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis: ibi inexplorato profectus, in insidias præcipitatus; multaque cum cæde suorum ægre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita, et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro cœptum, nec, dum per patentia lŏca ducebatur agmen, conparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum postremos adorti, cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi, et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque inpedito evasere: inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere: ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prætorem cum una legione Romana et quinque millibus sociorum delectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio jubent, qui sine ullo certamine—abscesserant enim metu hostes—Tannetum pervenit. Et P. Cornelius in locum ejus, quæ missa cum prætore erat, transcripta legione nova, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque et inde Saluvium montes, pervenit Massiliam et ad proxumum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab jactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites, ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis, ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes præmittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum gentis validæ: colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani, sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis, ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal, et eorum ipsorum suos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi trajici exercitum vi quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente

turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum: novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiæ, simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dum modo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

XXVII. Jamque omnibus satis conparatis ad trajiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes: quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei jubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme supra, parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim cæsa materia ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus equi virique et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis conjectis, ipsi cætris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere: et alius exercitus, ratibus junctis trajectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus, quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco prodito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres: eques fere propter equos nantes navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum flumnis parte superiore transmittens, tranquillitatem infra trajicientibus lintribus præbebat: equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur præter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

XXVIII. Galli occursant in ripam cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam ex adverso terrebant tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur. Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis: mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo inprovisa premente acie. Galli postquam ultroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium trajectis, spernens jam Gallicos tumultus castra

locat. Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variata memoria actæ rei. Quidam, congregatis ad ripam elephantis, tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus trajectos, id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est: ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripæ religatam, pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut beluæ audacter velut per solum ingrederentur: altera ratis æque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est, et, cum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, prægredientibus feminis, acti, ubi in minorem adplicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur: ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur: primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur: ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam sævientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.

XXIX. Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi, et quantæ copiæ essent et quid pararent. Huic alæ equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt: prœlium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur: nam præter multa vulnera cædes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis jam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli, ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet: et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum,

socios periculi fore affirmantes, integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus, Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque—rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam—metuebat.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione, varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: "mirari se, quinam pectora "semper inpavida repens terror invaserit: per tot annos vincentes "eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes "gentesque et terræ, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent? indignatos deinde quod, quicunque "Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet "populus Romanus, Hiberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen "Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum "id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter: "nunc, postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant, "Pyrenæum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, "domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi, trajectum, in conspectu Alpes "habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiæ sit, in ipsis portis hostium "fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam "montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenæi jugis:— "nullas profecto terras cælum contingere nec inexsuperabiles "humano generi esse: Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque "alere animantes: pervias paucis esse: et exercitibus? Eos "ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes "transgressos: ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas "Italiæ cultores, has ipsas Alpes ingentibus sæpe agminibus cum "liberis ac conjugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. "Militi quidem armato nihil secum præter instrumenta belli "portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut "caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus "quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum "moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quæ adiri posse Pœnus "desperet? Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti "per eos dies totiens ab se victæ, aut itineris finem sperent "campum interjacentem Tiberi ac mœnibus Romanis."

XXXI. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare jubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani, mediterranea Galliæ petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, prius quam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat

in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnis diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluunt in unum: mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum: incolunt prope Allobroges, gens jam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine ambigebant fratres: major et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem delata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adjutus, quod infames frigoribus Alpes præparari cogebant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum, cum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit, inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios haud usquam inpedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliæ fluminum difficillimus transitu est: nam, cum aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul, neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites —et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est—ad hoc saxa, glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti præbet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere post, quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta, nec facile se tantum progressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem: ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo, qui circa Padum erat, exercitu Italiam defensurus.—Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri solent, præcepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque cælo prope inmixtæ, tecta informia inposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia

gelu, cetera visu quam dictu fœdiora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa jussit, Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia præruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se inmiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus, interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto, cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis, inpedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis—acerrimo quoque viro—raptim angustias evadit, iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

XXXIII. Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen reliquum incedere cœpit. Jam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput inminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul objecta res oculis animisque inmobiles parumper eos defixit: deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adjecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, perversis rupibus juxta invia ac devia adsueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Pœni oppugnabantur; plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendenti ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus, certaminis erat. Et equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent. Multosque turba, cum præcipites diruptæque utrimque angustiæ essent, in inmensum altitudinis dejecit, quosdam et armatos: sed ruinæ maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quamquam fœda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret: deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse ne exutum inpedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento

temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, vicosque circumjectos capit, et captivo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit, et quia nec montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere inpediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium—ut inter montanos—populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus—fraude et insidiis—est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, "alienis malis "—utili exemplo—doctos," memorantes, "amicitiam malle quam "vim experiri Pœnorum: itaque obedienter imperata facturos, "commeatum itinerisque duces et, ad fidem promissorum, obsides "acciperet." Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis, et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos, conposito agmine duces eorum sequitur: primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque omnia incedebat. Ubi in augustiorem viam et parte altera subjectam jugo insuper inminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte, ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat: in eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam dum cunctatur Hannibal dimittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque inpedimentis acta est.

XXXV. Postero die, jam segnius intercursantibus barbaris, junctæ copiæ, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores jam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum, modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas, præcipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen præcedebant. Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant.

Biduum in jugo stativa habita; fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus: jumentaque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis tædio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adjecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum, signis prima luce motis, segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, prægressus signa Hannibal in promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat, subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, "mœniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, "proclivia fore, uno aut summo altero prœlio arcem et caput "Italiæ in manu ac potestate habituros." Procedere inde agmen cœpit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia, sicut breviora, ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec, qui paulum titubassent, hærere adflicti vestigio suo, aliique super alios et jumenta et homines occiderent.

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus miles tentabundus, manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes, demittere sese posset. Natura locus jam ante præceps recenti lapsu terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viæ equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum: haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit: nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec peraltæ facile pedes ingredientium insistebant: ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Tætra ibi luctatio erat, ut a lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium, et in prono citius pede se fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis, iterum corruerent: nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tamen infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa, jactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis, penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque, velut pedica capta, hærerent in dura et alta concreta glacie.

XXXVII. Tandem nequiquam jumentis atque hominibus:

fatigatis, castra in jugo posita, ægerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non jumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. quadriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumtis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives: inferiora valles, apricos quosdam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas et jam humano cultu digniora loca: ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantæ copiæ transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt: qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum, Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octogiuta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta: in Italia magis adfluxisse verissimum est, et ita quidam auctores sunt: ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse e Taurinis, quæ Galliæ proxima gens erat, in Italiam digressum. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Pœnino—atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Cœlium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse: qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint: nec verisimile est eo tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quæ ad Pœninum ferunt obsæpta gentibus semigermanis fuissent: neque, hercule, nomen montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Seduni, Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norint inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Pœninum montani appellant.

XXXIX. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ genti, adverses Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo

maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque, squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone, et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus conscreret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, jam e stativis moverat Hannibal, Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentis in amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat; et junxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præsentem secuturos esse ratus. Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium, et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa, talem orationem est exorsus.

XL, "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in "Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos. Quid enim "adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rho- "danum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus "fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus, confessionem cedentis ac "detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exer- "citus, Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione "meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque "Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem "ac Pœnos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, "novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. "Nec genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum his est vobis, "milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, "a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta "belli præmia, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, habetis. Erit igitur in hoc "certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse "solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugna- "turi sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detracta- "vere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu

"Alpium amissis, quia plures pæne perierint quam supersint, "plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt sed vigentes "animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere "vis ulla possit: effigies, immo umbræ hominum, fame, frigore, "inluvie, squalore enecti, contusi, ac debilitati inter saxa rupes- "que: ad hoc præusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida "gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi: cum "hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas "hostium, non hostem habebitis. Ac nihil magis vereor, ne cui "umquam, vos cum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem "videantur: sed ita forsitan decuit, cum fœderum ruptore duce "ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac "profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, com- "missum ac profligatum conficere."

XLI. "Non vereor ne quis me hæc vestri adhortandi causa "magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse: "licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus "eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem "ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Han- "nibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli: tamen, "cum præterveherer navibus Galliæ oram, ad famam hujus "hostis in terram egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum "movi castra. Equestri prælio, qua parte copiarum conserendi "manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi: peditum agmen, quod "in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra "non poteram, neque regressus ad naves erat, quanta maxime "potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus "prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum de- "clinarem certamen, inprovisus incidisse videor an occurrere in "vestigiis ejus, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri "juvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos "terra ediderit, an iidem sint qui ad Ægates pugnaverint insulas, "et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis æstimatos emisistis: et "utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, "an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre "relictus: quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret "profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque, et "fœdera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui, jussus ab consule nostro, "præsidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Car- "thaginiensibus leges fremens mœrensque accepit, qui decedens "Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque "vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo adversus alios hostes "soletis pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque "ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos

"ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio huma-
"norum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam
"trajicere, atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Cartha-
"ginem delere: veniam dedimus precantibus; emisimus ex obsi-
"dione; pacem cum victis fecimus: tutelæ deinde nostræ duxi-
"mus, cum Africo bello urgerentur: pro his inpertitis furiosum
"juvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt.
"Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute
"esset certamen! non de possessione Siciliæ ac Sardiniæ, de
"quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum:
"nec est alius ab tergo exercitus qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti
"obsistat, nec Alpes aliæ sunt, quas dum superant, conparari
"nova possint præsidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si
"ante Romana mœnia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus
"suum, sed conjugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet,
"nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo
"reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque
"Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde for-
"tunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore."

XLII. Hæc apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis, interrogare interpretem jussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur, armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque cum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo conditionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

XLIII. Dum sic, aliquot spectatis paribus, adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur. "Si,
"quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis,
"eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus,
"milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quædam
"veluti imago vestræ conditionis erat. Ac nescio an majora
"vincula majoresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris
"fortuna circumdederit: dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt,
"nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus; circa Padus
"amnis, major Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes
"urgent vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitæ: hic vincen-
"dum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis.

"Et eadem fortuna, quæ necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, "præmia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines "ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam "tantum ac Sardiniam, parentibus nostris ereptas, nostra virtute "recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: quid- "quid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id "omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam "opimam mercedem agite, cum diis bene juvantibus arma "capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque monti- "bus, pecora consectando, nullum emolumentum tot laborum "periculorumque vestrorum vidistis: tempus est jam opulenta "vos ac ditia stipendia facere, et magna operæ pretia mereri, "tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas "gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; "hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec, quam "magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam "fore: sæpe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et "inclyti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt: nam "dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi "vobis conparandi sint? ut viginti annorum militiam vestram "cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, "ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum, per tot ferocissimos "Hispaniæ et Galliæ populos vincentes huc pervenistis: pug- "nabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, "circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique "ducem. An me in prætorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope "natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, vic- "torem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, "quod multo majus est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam "duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis, demptis signis, Pœnos "Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius "exercitu sit consul. Non ego illud parvi æstimo, milites, "quod nemo est vestrum, cujus non ante oculos ipse sæpe "militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego, virtutis "spectator, ac testis, notata temporibus locisque referre sua "possim decora: cum laudatis a me millies donatisque alumnus "prius omnium vestrum, quam imperator, procedam in aciem "adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

XLIV. "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video "animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum "gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos "fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses cum ob patriam, tum ob "iram justissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum, infestisque "signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pug-

" naturi quam hostis, quanto major spes, major est animus " inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit præterea et stimulat " animos dolor, injuria, indignitas: ad supplicium depoposcerunt " me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppug- " nassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crude- " lissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit: " cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum " inponere æquum censet: circumscribit includitque nos terminis " montium fluminumque quos non excedamus, neque eos quos " statuit terminos observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum: ne quid " 'rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' 'Ad Hiberum est Saguntum.' " 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' 'Parum est quod veterrimas " 'provincias meas, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, adimis? Etiam His- " 'paniam? Et inde cessero, in Africam transcendes.' Transcendes " autem dico? Duos consules hujus anni, unum in Africam, " alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil umquam nobis relictum " est nisi quod armis vindicaremus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse " licet, qui respectum habent, quod sua terra, suus ager per tuta " ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus " viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa despe- " ratione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in " prælio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene " fixum omnibus, destinatum in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: " nullum enim telum ad vincendum homini ab diis inmortalibus " acrius datum est."

XLV. Iis adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; Pœnus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit, Gallis parci quam max me jubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium, quinque millia passuum a Vico Tumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat, revocatoque propere Maharbali atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum præmonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: " Agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque " velit, inmunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque: qui pecuniam " quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum: qui sociorum " cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum: qui do- " mos redire mallent, daturum se operam ne cujus suorum popu- " larium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent: " servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia

dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem cetcrosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, et secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id moræ, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potiênda sperata rati, prælium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis: nam et lupus intraverat castra, laniatisque obviis, ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore prætorio inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu jaculatoribusque expeditis profectus, ad castra hostium ex propinquo, copiasque, quantæ et cujus generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad prælium sese expediebant: Scipio jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos, sociorumque quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis: Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato, jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem: inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps: dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna iverat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos; auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus, periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis fili propulsatum. Hic erat juvenis penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ invaserunt: alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Cœlius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat: malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores, et fama obtinuit.

XLVII. Hoc primum cum Hannibale prælium fuit, quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota, festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis,

sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cœlius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transnasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis ejus vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites, armis equisque salvis, tantam vim fluminis superasse verisimile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres; et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis inpedimentis traduci posset: potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini inventum tradunt; eâ cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis die unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die, in conspectu hostium acie directa, potestatem pugnæ fecit.

XLVIII. Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re major, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos Pœnus benigne adlocutus, et spe ingentium donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio cædem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere, velut injecta rabie, ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium. jam in loca altiora collesque inpeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos, metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via jactanti ultra patiens, et conlegam, jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat, ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius

inopia, quæ per hostium agros euntem, nusquam præparatis commeatibus, major in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasiro Brundisino præfecto præsidi corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama clementiæ in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum est.

XLIX. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiæ inminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum ejus, terra marique res gestæ. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ: novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ, qui tum forte Messanæ erat, consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves, cujus ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios: Lilybæi occupandi præcipuam curam esse: credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Ægates insulas dejectam. Hæc sicut audita erant, rex M. Æmilio prætori, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præsidio. Extemplo et circa a prætore ad civitates missi legati tribunique: "suos ad curam custodiæ in-"tenderent; ante omnia Lilybæum teneri; ad paratum belli edicto "proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves "deferrent, et, ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscen-"dendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent "adventantem hostium classem." Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis veniebant; extemplo signum datum e speculis, et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est, et in naves conscensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi inluxit, recipere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti, et militum multitudine ac virtute.

L. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanos conserere pugnam, et ex propinquo vires conferre velle: contra eludere Pœnus, et arte non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit: extemplo septem naves Punicæ circumventæ; fugam ceteræ ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautæque; in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit. Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris ejus qui Messanai erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem armatam ornatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in prætoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulæ et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, "ut quo animo priore bello populum "Romanum juvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adjuturum, frumentum "vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis "præbiturum: grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civitatibus "esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore." Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybæum classe peteret: et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybæum, fusasque et captas hostium naves accipere.

LI. A Lilybæo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso, relictoque prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, trajecit: advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius præfectus præsidii cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum, oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, trajecit, nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus: jam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiæ oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore conlegæ ferret auxilium, missæ traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves inpositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram

Italiæ tuendam adtribuit, M. Æmilio prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse conpositis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italiæ legens, Ariminum pervenit: inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen conlegæ conjungitur.

LII. Jam ambo consules, et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium, aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri prælio uno et vulnere suo deminutus, trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverint, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut præda militem aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consulem missis auxilium Romanorum terræ, ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti, orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendæ rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate abolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam: Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos quosque, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat. Tum conlega cunctante equitatum suum, mille peditum jaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque, cum inopinatos invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere, unde multitudine effusa pulsi, rursus subsidio suorum prælium restituere: varia inde pugna sequentes cedentesque cum ad extremum æquassent certamen, major tamen, quam hostium, Romanorum fama victoriæ fuit.

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium major justiorque quam ipsi consuli videri: gaudio efferri, "qua parte copiarum alter consul "victus foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, "nec quemquam esse prætor conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem "vellet: eum, animo magis quam corpore, ægrum memoria vulneris "aciem ac tela horrere: sed non esse cum ægro senescendum: "quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, "quem alium exercitum expectari? castra Carthaginiensium in "Italia, ac prope in conspectu urbis esse: non Siciliam ac Sardi-

"niam victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo "patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. Quantum "ingemiscant," inquit, "patres nostri circa mœnia Carthaginis "bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules "consularesque exercitus, in media Italia pavcntes intra castra, "Pœnum, quod inter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suæ "ditionis fecisse!" hæc adsidens ægro conlegæ, hæc in prætorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger conlega erat: itaque, nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio, parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet. Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque inprovide quicquam consules acturos: cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum prædatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob hæc taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli—ad ea exploranda, quæ vellent, tutiores, quia in utriusque castris militabant—paratos pugnæ esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Pœnus cœpit.

LIV. Erat in medio rivus peraltis utrimque clausus ripis, et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic "erit locus," Magoni fratri ait, "quem teneas: delige centenos "viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia "prima venias: nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita prætorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora "virorum cerno," inquit Hannibal: "sed uti numero etiam, non "animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis mani-"pulisque vestri similes eligite: Mago locum monstrabit quem "insideatis: hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita mille equitibus Magoni, mille peditibus dimissis, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites, transgressos Trebiam flumen, obequitare jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, injecto deinde certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Hæc mandata Numidis: cæteris ducibus peditum equitumque præceptum ut prandere omnes juberent, armatos

deinde instratisque equis signum expectare. Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum jam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumæ tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium prægelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat; et quidquid auræ fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis: ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et, procedente jam die, fame etiam deficere.

LV. Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit, atque in aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato, revocatos circumdedit peditibus: duodeviginti millia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia præterea Cenomanorum: ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Prælium a Baliaribus ortum est: quibus cum majore robore legiones obsisterent, deductæ propere in cornua leves armaturæ sunt; quæ res efficit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum vix jam per se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia, et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculorum a Baliaribus conjecta: ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Pœnus, paulo ante curatis corporibus, in prælium attulerat: contra jejuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum: sed et Baliares, pulso equite, jaculabantur in latera, et elephanti jam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum inprovida præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu inmota acies, maxime præter

spem omnium adversus elephantos: eos velites ad id ipsum locati verrutis conjectis et avertere, et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

LVI. Trepidantesque et prope jam in suos consternatos media acie in extremam, ad sinistrum cornum, adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal: ii extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam; quoque novus terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum jam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, cum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quæ Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti cæde hostium perrupere: et cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque præ imbri satis decernere possent qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factæ; et, qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis, Placentiam contendere: aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus, et intoleranda vis frigoris, et homines multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostes Pœnis flumen Trebia fuit; et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiam victoriæ sentirent: itaque nocte insequenti, cum præsidium castrorum et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam trajicerent, aut nihil sensere, obstrepente pluvia, aut, quia jam moveri nequibant præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Pœnis, tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado trajectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

LVII. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, qui a portis mœnibusque vim arcerent: "uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex Sicilia "revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus "victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quæ arces- "santur?" Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam consilio, aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit: creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius. Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, quæque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque: omnes

igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit, et opere magno munitum, et valido firmatum præsidio: ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiæ quoque audiretur: itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, jussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim prælium commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus injecto, defensum egregie præsidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat munitum; inde locum frequentaverant adcolæ mixti undique ex finitimis popellis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo, fama inpigre defensi ad Placentiam præsidi accensa, armis arreptis, obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina acies in via concurrerunt; et, cum ex altera parte nihil præter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque millia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die, deditione facta, præsidium intra mœnia accepere, jussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus dătur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent: neque ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades est; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanæ superbiæ editum in miseros exemplum est. Hæ fuere hibernæ expeditiones Hannibalis.

LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adjuncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum jam spiritum includeret, nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono cœlum strepere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes: captis auribus et oculis, metu omnes torpere: tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam, nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aquâ levata vento, cum super gelida

montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivosæ grandinis dejecit, ut, omnibus omissis, procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti: tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum jumentorumque strage cum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torrentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus poterant: deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos, et raris locis ignis fieri est cœptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere: multi homines, multa jumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui prælio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

LIX. Digressus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem millia progressus consedit: postero die duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul, jam enim redierat ab Roma, detrectavit certamen: atque eo die tria millia passum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum spectare jubet. Jam nona ferme dici hora erat, cum Romanus, nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit, laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in hostem, ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla ea et utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset: nox accensum ingentibus animis prælium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam cædes, et sicut æquata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus, et dimidium ejus equitum cecidit: sed major Romanis quam pro numero jactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot, et tribuni militum quinque, et præfecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum, et quinque equestris ordinis senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

LX. Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, cum, ab ostio Rhodani profectus, Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus, Emporis adpulisset

classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen, partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis, Romanæ ditionis fecit. Inde conciliata lenitatis clementiæque fama, non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis, ad ferociores jam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validæque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus præsidium: itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim, quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex millia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum: nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum præda oppidi parvi preti rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum: castra militem ditavere, non ejus modo exercitus qui victus erat, sed et ejus qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia inpedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

LXI. Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundæ res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso, cum magna cæde, majore fuga ad naves conpellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio, raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos præfectos navium animadvertisset, præsidio Tarracone modico relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem inpulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat; excito deinde Scipione hibernis, hostico cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, conpulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quæ caput ejus populi erat, circumsedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in jus ditionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Pœnorum,

procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa, Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbem cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis: cæsa ad duodecim millia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit; per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta jacuit: adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquotiens conjectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

LXII. Romæ ac circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut, quod evenire solet, motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt: in quis ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et foro bovario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse, atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse, et navium speciem de cœlo adfulsisse, et ædem Spei, quæ est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse, et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario consedisse, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos, nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Cære sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri jussi: quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores quibus cæditum est diis cæsæ, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium et Junoni portatum est, et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Cære, ubi sortes adtenuatæ erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunæ in Algido: Romæ quoque et lectisternium Juventati, et supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio majores hostiæ cæsæ quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus prætor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos respublica eodem stetisset statu. Hæc procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui hæ legiones quæ Placentiæ hibernabant sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat, memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quæ tribunus plebis, et quæ postea consul, prius de consulatu qui abrogabatur,

dein de triumpho habuerat: invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, atque uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hæc ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram, infestis jam ante patribus, movit: " non cum senatu modo, " sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere: " consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis " atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum, et " Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne " die initi magistratus Jovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne " senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, " ne Latinas indiceret, Jovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte " faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncu- " panda, paludatis inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret: lixæ " modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, " haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset: magis pro " majestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romæ magistratum " initurum, et in diversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos " prætextam sumpturum." Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt, et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem, legatos enim mitti placuit, Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ: paucos post dies magistratum iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus jam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit: fuga procul etiam major apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit: id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio, prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio prætore acceptis, in Etruriam per Apennini tramites exercitus duci est cœptus.

LIBER XXII.

EPITOME.

HANNIBAL, per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso, venit in Etruriam: per quas paludes quatriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis, quæ tolli non poterant, et ab equo, quem conscenderat, per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus, ad Trasumennum lacum cum exercitu cæsus est. Sex millia, quæ eruperant, fide ab Maharbale data, perfidia Hannibalis vincta sunt. Quum ad nuntium cladis Romæ luctus esset, duæ matres, ex insperato receptis filiis, gaudio mortuæ sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum. Quum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator, adversus Hannibalem missus, nollet acie cum eo confligere, ne, contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem, territum adversis prœliis militem pugnæ commiteret, et opponendo se tantummodo, conatus Hannibalis inpediret, M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tamquam segnem et timidum, effecit, ut populi jussu æquaretur ei cum dictatore imperium; divisoque exercitu, quum in iniquo loco conflixisset, et in maximo discrimine legiones ejus essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo discrimine liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra cum eo junxit, et patrem cum salutavit; idemque facere milites jussit. Hannibal vastata Campania, inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem, a Fabio clausus, sarmentis ad cornua boum adligatis et incensis, præsidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugavit: et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Q. Fabii Maximi dictatoris, quum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tamquam proditorem suspectum faceret. Æmilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone consulibus et ducibus, cum maxima clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est: cæsaque eo prælio Romanorum quadraginta quinque millia, cum Paulo consule et senatoribus octoginta, consularibus atque prætoriis aut ædiliciis triginta. Post quam cladem quum a nobilibus adolescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui postea Africanus nun-

cupatus est, stricto super capita deliberantium ferro, juravit, se pro hoste habiturum eum, qui in verba sua non jurasset; effecitque, ut omnes minime relictum iri a se Italiam jurejurando adstringerentur. Præterea trepidationem urbis et luctum, et res in Hispania meliore eventu gestas continet. Opimia et Floronia, Vestales virgines, incesti damnatæ sunt. Propter paucitatem vero militum servorum octo millia armata sunt. Captivi, quum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt. Varroni obviam itum est, et gratiæ actæ, quod de republica non desperasset.

I. JAM ver adpetebat, cum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Gallis quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse, premique utriusque partis exercitum hibernis viderent, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia: petitusque sæpe principium insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ idibus Martis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de republica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: "duos se consules creasse, unum habere: quod enim illi justum "imperium, quod auspicium esse? magistratus id a domo, pub- "licis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in "monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre: "nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in "externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse." Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum: et Præneste ardentes lapides cœlo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in cœlo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenæ duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse, fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas, unamque excidisse

ita scriptam, "Mavors telum suum concutit:" et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuæ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse lunæque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. Iis sicut erant nunciata expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit: decretum ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis, partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur: cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse dii divinis carminibus præfarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Junoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur, et Junoni reginæ in Aventino, Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronæque, pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, quin et ut libertinæ et ipsæ—inde Feroniæ donum daretur—pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent: hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt: postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ inmolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum, et eum lectum senatores straverunt, et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

II. Dum consul placandis Romæ diis habendoque delectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium prævenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius, ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veteranæ robur exercitus, admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus decessent, primos ire jussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per prærupta fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti pæne limo inmergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur: Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi, neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant, aut corpora animis, aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa ægre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta, et ipsa jacentia passim, morientes. Maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant per quadriduum jam et

tres noctes toleratæ. Cum, omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbebant: jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod extaret aqua, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, æger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

III. Multis hominibus jumentisque fœde amissis, cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti mœnia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad cōmeatus expediendos et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erant, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum aut patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens: hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu alucrat: itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum: quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Pœnus parat, et læva relicto hoste, Fæsulas petens medio Etruriæ agro prædatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui nec quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam jam Italiam vagari Pœnum, atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, "conlegam expectandum, ut, conjunctis exercitibus, "communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu "auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem "cohibendum," iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque cum dedisset, "immo Arreti ante mœnia sedeamus," inquit, "hic enim patria et penates sunt: Hannibal "emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque et "urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc "moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium "ab Arretio patres acciverint." Hæc simul increpans, cum ocius signa convelli juberet, et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus

repente conruit, consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut fœdo omine incipiendæ rei, insuper nunciatur, signum, omni vi moliente signifero, convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "num litteras quoque," inquit, "ab "senatu adfers quæ me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia, effo- "diant signum, si ad convellendum manus præ metu obtor- "puerit." Incedere inde agmen cœpit, primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur. *in general; on the whole.*

IV. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit: via tantum interest perangusta, vel ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio: deinde paulo latior patescit campus, inde colles adinsurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret: Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit, equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent. Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato, postero die, vixdum satis certa luce, angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiæ. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi quo cuique proximum fuit decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta, eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari cœptum est quam satis instrueretur acies, aut expediri arma, stringique gladii possent. *Livy.*

V. Consul perculsis omnibus, ipse satis ut in re trepida inpavidus, turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare jubet? "nec enim inde votis aut inploratione deum sed vi ac virtute "evadendum esse: per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo "timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse." Ceterum præ strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi

poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordinem miles et locum nosceret, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnæ competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine major usus aurium quam oculorum: ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque: alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati hærebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobat, et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat: tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnæ animus, ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italiæ magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

VI. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est: eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, inpigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant, et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques, Ducario nomen erat, facie quoque noscitans, "consul, en," inquit "hic est," popularibus suis, "qui legiones "nostras cecidit, agrosque et urbem est depopulatus: jam ego "hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum fœde civium dabo:" subditisque calcaribus equo, per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit: spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis fuga inde primum cœpit: et jam nec lacus, nec montes pavori obstabant: per omnia arta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii præcipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugæ deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus, humeris extare possunt, sese inmergunt: fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam inpulerit; quæ ubi inmensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequiquam fessi vada retro ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per

adversos hostes eruptione inpigre facta, ignari omnium quæ post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quæ fortuna pugnæ esset, neque scire nec perspicere præ caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt. Quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

VII. Hæc est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia Romanorum in acie cæsa sunt: decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam aversis itineribus urbem petiere. Duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrimque ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex cædes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis: ego, præterquam quod nihil haustum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium æqualem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri jussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit. Romæ ad primum nuntium cladis ejus cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus: matronæ vagæ per vias, quæ repens clades adlata, quæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur: et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius prætor, "pugna," inquit, "magna victi sumus:" et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt, "consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum, superesse "paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos, aut captos ab "hoste." Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dispertiti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset? nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas major prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem, aut nuntios de iis opperiens, circumfundebanturque obviis

sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, ut cuique læta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia erant, et luctus: unam in ipsa porta, sospiti filio repente oblatam, in conplexu ejus expirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat, mæstam, sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis fili gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent consultantes, quonam duce aut copiis quibus resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio propræture missa ad conlegam ab Servilio consule, in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars, occupatis majore ægritudine animis, levem ex conparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se æstimare, sed ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis, quam valido gravior, sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et adfectæ civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit: et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, prodictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum, et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum: hisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et præsidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniæ haud nimis prospere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælioque, magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili, adfectus. Ubi satis quieti datum præda ac populationibus

magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum, Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat, circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus prœliis cum Gallis actis, et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de conlegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, jam mœnibus patriæ metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit. Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab iis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus neglegentia cœrimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaque piacula iræ deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum tætra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur: qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, rettulerunt patribus, "quod ejus belli causa votum Marti foret, id " non rite factum, de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et " Jovi ludos magnos et ædes Veneri Erycinæ ac Menti vovendas " esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et Veri " sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica in " eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset." Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem, ex conlegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet.

X. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente conlegio prætorum, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba populus: "velitis "jubeatisne hæc sic fieri? si res publica populi Romani Quiri- "tium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam, sic salva " servata erit hisce duellis, datum donum duit populus Romanus " Quiritium;—quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi " est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt quive cis Alpes sunt—: quod " ver adtulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæ- " que profana erunt, Jovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque "jusserit: qui faciet, quando volet, quaque lege volet, facito: "quo modo faxit, probe factum esto: si id moritur quod fieri " oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto: si quis rumpet " occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto: si quis clepset, ne populo " scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit: si atro die faxit insciens, " probe factum esto: si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, " probe factum esto: si ante id ea senatus populusque jusserit " fieri, ac faxitur, eo populus solutus, liber esto." Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus, trecentis triginta tribus, triente; præterea bubus Jovi trecentis,

multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta, supplicatumque ire cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus: sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum ædes votæ: Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris edictum erat, ut is voveret cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet: scriberet præterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur: cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit: iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit: edictoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque inmunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta: ex agris quoque dimigrarent omnes regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset. Ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercitúque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen, consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetustate jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, fecisset, litteræ ab urbe adlatæ sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem, ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat: libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant: ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi: alii, ut urbi præsiderent, relicti.

XII. Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo die ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Præneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura

exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Pœnus educeret in aciem, copiamque pugnandi faceret: sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes, nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem quos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessumque propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit, ceterum tacita cura animum incensus, quod cum duce, haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili, futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæsissent. Et prudentiam quidem, non vim dictatoris extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum cœpit: et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ, si excipere digressum in æquum posset, occultus obsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum, neque congrederetur: castris, nisi quantum usus necessari cogeret, tenebatur miles: pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant, nec passim: equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præbebat: neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimoque receptu, adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus jam tandem aut virtutis, aut fortunæ pœnitere suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, moræ ad rem publicam præcipitandam habebat: ferox rapidusque in consiliis ac lingua immodicus, primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, conpellabat; premendoque superiorem, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus, cladibus sociorum, detrahere ad æquum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos: hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, cum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem, alternisque

fidentem ac diffidentem, tamen ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt: monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, jussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latino nomine, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse, virgisque cæso duce, et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit: ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidæ fecerunt: nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

XIV. Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amœnissimus Italiæ ager, villæque passim incendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa. Quieti fuerant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant: ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum est, hostes sub oculis erant, Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnæ, "spectatumne huc" inquit Minucius "ad rem fruendam oculis—sociorum cædes et incendia "venimus? Nec si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem "horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, "ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset, quam nunc non "vicinus Samnitis urit sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis "terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia jam huc "progressus? Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris "ut, præter quam oram illi suam Punicas vagari classes dedecus "esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numi-"darumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? Qui modo "Saguntum oppugnari indignando, non homines tantum sed "fœdera et deos ciebamus, scandentem mœnia Romanæ coloniæ "et Hannibalem læti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum "agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamo-

" ribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocan-
" tium opem: nos hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus
" deviasque calles exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque.
" Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius re-
" cipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis
" dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quæsitus, Italiam ab Hanni-
" bale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset: quam vereor ne,
" sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Pœnis toties servaverint
" majores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem
" eum ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi dictum, Veios
" adlatum est, cum esset satis altum Janiculum, ubi sedens
" prospectaret hostem, descendit in æquum, atque illo ipso die,
" media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die
" citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos
" annos, cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub
" jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor juga
" Samni perlustrando, an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque, et
" lacessendo victorem hostem, depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus
" jugum superbo Samniti inposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quæ
" alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam
" hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, inpeditam suomet
" ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est
" sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: armari copias
" oportet et deducendas in æquum, et vir cum viro congrediaris:
" audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non iis segnibus
" consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut contionanti
Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo; et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur, ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.

XV. Fabius pariter inter suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab aliis invictum animum præstat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed jam etiam Romæ infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis, jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio præsentis erat copiæ, non perpetuæ, arbusta vineæque, et consita omnia magis amœnis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis, quæ urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit: ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum

L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba juvenum audientium sæpe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit: extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque præcepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese jusserat quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidæ alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertrahere: inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme millia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi, nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in prælium rediit, omni parte virium inpar: itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur: ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt. Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam, in artas coactus fauces, inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnus Appiæ limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Conjunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde millia hostes aberant.

XVI. Postero die Pœni quod viæ inter bina castra erat, agmine conplevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacessendum hostem carptim Pœni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnavere. Restitit suo loco Romana acies: lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate: ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Pœnus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti: itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum, specie terribile, ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris conlectæ, fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti, præliganturque cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam agebat: ad duo millia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum

ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucentis flammæ ex capite, calorque jam ad vivum diu ad imaque cornuum adveniens, velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ardere, capitumque inrita quassatio excitans flammam, hominum passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati præsidio excessere: qua minime densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter, petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt: et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt, deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum majore metu concitant se in fugam; levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit: interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis prælium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile—etenim numero aliquantum præstabant—Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea adsuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac leviorque, cum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnæ genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani, aliquot suis amissis, in castra contenderunt. Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum, super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit: Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec absistens, nec congrediens. Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra com-

muniit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, "ut plus consilio quam fortunæ confidat, et se potius "ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil "actum censeret, extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis: "medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque "agendo proficere: haud parvam rem esse ab toties victore "hoste vinci desisse ab continuis cladibus, ac respirasse:" hæc nequiquam præmonito magistro equitum, Romam est profectus.

XIX. Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit: quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus, navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit: deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves inposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit: altero ab Tarracone die stationem decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castraque in ripa posita: itaque ut inprovidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis anchoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est; tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito, aut aperientibus classem promontoriis, cum repente eques, alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus, vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut prælium eo die expectantes, conscendere naves propere, atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu esse. Hæc equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat; varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in anchoras everherentur; alii, ne quid teneat, anchoralia incidunt, raptimque omnia præpropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria inpediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibentur.

Et jam Romanus non adpropinquabat modo sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et prælio magis Pœni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, et tentata verius pugna, quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem: et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes, ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duæ tamen primo concursu captæ erant Punicæ naves, quattuor suppressæ.

XX. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem toto prætentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras litori inlisas, aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus oræ mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent, captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque incendcrunt. Inde jam præda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale: quod satis in usum fuit sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo projectas oras, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore quam ex continenti præda parta, cum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciæ, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere ditionis imperiique Romani facti sint, obsidibus datis, populi, amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus: Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tempus, fuissetque per Pœnum hostem: sed præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus, in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis

auxiliis a Scipione missi, levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes, occisis quibusdam captisque, magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Lergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti, arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt, tria oppida vi expugnant: inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus prœliis egregie pugnant, ac quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna lætitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit; ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniæ traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniæ populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Pœnis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnæ rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maxumum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quæ fortuna potestatis ejus poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ amicitiam. Sed cum, injussu Bostaris præfecti, satis sciret nihil obsidium custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ex ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: "metum continuisse ad eam diem "Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent: nunc cis "Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque "novis volentibus res: itaque quos metus non teneat, beneficio

" et gratia devinciendos esse." Miranti Bostari percunctantique, " quodnam id subitum tantæ rei donum posset esse," "Obsides" inquit " in civitates remitte: id et privatim parentibus, quorum " maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis " gratum erit: vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam " plerumque obligat fidem: ministerium restituendorum domos " obsidium mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque inpensa " consilium adjuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratæ quantam " insuper gratiam possim adjiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis, et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret, exprimit: et fide accepta datâque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis: dimissus, cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad conpositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti: cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordine quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat: illos enim, graves, superbos in rebus secundis expertos, fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat: Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat. Et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse: itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare, armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

XXIII. Hæc in Hispania quoque secunda æstate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset: quæ ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna, gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam, absente eo, temeritate magistri equitum læto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris: una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis, ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset: altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso, in permutandis

captivis, quod, sicut primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Pœnumque ut, quæ pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem præstaret. Ducentos quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Pœnus recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum, sæpe jactata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset patres, tardius rogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam inpendio privato exsolvit. Hannibal pro Gereoni mœnibus, cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris præsidio, et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat: præerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum deferuntur, agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos, aut in castra relicta cum levi præsidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio millia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis inminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via præventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum, contempta paucitate, Romani postero die cum jecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum tota prope conpleverat Romana acies: simul et per aversa castra equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus; quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat: jamque artibus Fabiis—pars exercitus aberat jam ferme—sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Gereoni mœnibus erant. Justa quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum, inde, eruptione facta, repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde interventu prælium restitutum: hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat,

sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum, mille equites adducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utriusque præbuisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis; Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum, adjuvante Samnite, duo castella eo die expugnasse; sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum: tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV. De iis rebus persæpe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum, læta civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ, nec litteris crederet, "ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa "timere" diceret, tum M. Metellus tribunus plebis "id enim "ferendum esse" negat: "non præsentem solum dictatorem ob- "stitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare, et "in ducendo bello ac sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magis- "tratu sit, solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat: "quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum, specie "classis Punicæ persequendæ, procul ab Italia ablegatum: duos "prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc "tempore provincia prætore egeat: M. Minucium magistrum "equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope "in custodiam habitum: itaque hercule non Samnium modo, "quo jam, tamquam trans Hiberum agro, Pœnis concessum "sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervasta- "tos esse, sedenti Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani "agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et "magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tam- "quam hostibus captivis arma adempta: tandem, ut abscesserit "inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos "fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus "plebei Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse dein de abro- "gando Q. Fabi imperio: nunc modicam rogationem promul- "gaturum de æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure. Nec "tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium "quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset." Dictator contionibus se abstinuit, in actione minime popularis: ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus audiebatur, hunc cum hostem verbis extolleret, biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret, "magistroque equitum, quod "contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam "esse: si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem "effecturum ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni "fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in

"tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa "millia hostium occidisse majorem gloriam esse." Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne præsens ac jure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris, favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire, et, favore superante, auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servili ejus artis ministerio usum.

XXVI. Is juvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum, primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit. Quæstura quoque et duabus ædilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et prætura perfunctus, jam ad consulatus spem cum adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romæ, quique in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt: ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientem injuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatusconsulti de æquato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII. Minucius vero cum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique inmodice inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se, quam Q. Fabio, gloriari: "illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Han- "nibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod "nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatum in eadem "civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris "tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felicitatem "virtutemque enituisse: ergo secuturumque se fortunam suam, "si dictator in cunctationi ac segnitie deorum hominumque "judicio damnata perstaret." Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, "statuendum omnium primum" ait "esse, quem ad modum imperio æquato utantur: se optumum "ducere aut diebus alternis aut, si majora intervalla placerent,

"partitis temporibus, alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, "ut par hosti non consilio solum, sed viribus etiam esset, si "quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset." Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: "omnia fortunam enim habituram, quæ-"cumque temeritas conlegæ habuisset: sibi communicatum "cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se numquam "volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerenda-"rum cessurum; nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, "exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non "liceret, quæ posset servaturum." Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos est, se inter dividerent: prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt: item equites pari numero, sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt: castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

XXVIII. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit: neque enim quicquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem: nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sollertiæ Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Pœnorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operæ pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat: et erant in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque: necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi, aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum, avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas; ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ad locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanis animis et minis increpat hostem: principio levem armaturam dimittit, deinde conserto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia, ut crescente certamine, mittens auxilia peditum equitumque, jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoccupatum inferiore loco; succedens tumulum, pulsa detru-

saque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem, et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos inpavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa ac si recta pugna esset, haudquaquam inpar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta: sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

XXIX. Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est;" inquit, "non celerius "quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem: Fabio æquatus "imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed "aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra "vallum proferte: victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem "erroris civibus." Jam magna ex parte cæsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente, velut cælo dimissa ad auxiljum, ostendit: itaque, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret, aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa, et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit: qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem, volventesque orbem, nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare: ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum. Ita per variam fortunam dici majore parte exacta, cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus "sæpe ego" inquit "audivi, "milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in "rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec "ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii "esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, "secundam ac mediam teneamus, et, dum imperare discimus, "parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio "jungamus; ad prætorium ejus signa contulerimus: ubi ego "eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac "majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos "modo arma, dexteræ texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil "aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

XXX. Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes dictatoris castra, in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" inquit "meis,

"dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, æquavi, "vitam tantum debeo; tibi cum meam salutem, tum omnium "horum: itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis quam hono- "ratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique, "quod exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, "sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo, et signa hæc legio- "nesque restituo: tu, quæso, placatus me magisterio equitum, "hos ordinibus suis quemque teneri jubeas." Tum dextræ interjunctæ, militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati; lætusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat, ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse: nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, "tandem eam nubem, quæ sedere in jugis mon- "tium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse."

XXXI. Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniæ et Corsicæ oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmisit, et prius quam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata, et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diriperetur que ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africæ accessit, copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii, juxta effusi ac si insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes, et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa cæde ac fœda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blæso quæstore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide, soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus, freto in Italiam trajecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus, et ipse et conlega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, exacto jam prope semenstri imperio, acciperent. Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt. Cœlius etiam cum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et Cœlium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris: quam moram quia ex-

pectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum est, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset: res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis, et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

XXXII. Consules, Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis—medium autumni erat—Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt: frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen, palatosque excipientes: in casum universæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant: adeoque inopiæ'st coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugæ specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent. Cum ad Gereonium jam hieme inpediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam inlatæ, atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent, "scire re sese "populi ærarium bello exhauriri, et cum juxta pro urbibus "agrisque sociorum, ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe "Romana atque imperio, geratur, æquum censuisse Neapoli- "tanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad "subsidium fortunæ a majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare "populum Romanum: si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem "studio fuisse oblaturos: gratum sibi patres Romanos populum- "que facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, "dignosque judicaverint ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate "eorum qui libentes dárent, quam re, majus ampliusque, accipe- "rent." Legatis gratiæ actæ pro munificentia curaque; patera, "quæ ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

XXXIII. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprensus, præcisisque manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent: indici data libertas et æris gravis viginti millia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent; simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur: ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cujus dies exierat, poscendum, aut, si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit ædem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem mili-

tarem bienno ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse: itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio prætore urbano, C. Pupius et Cæso Quinctius Flamininus, ædem in arce faciendam locaverunt. Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto litteræ ad consules missæ ut, "si iis videretur, "alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam "diem, quam jussissent, comitia edicturum." Ad hæc consulibus rescriptum, "Sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi non "posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse "potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur." Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa: dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis, jussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit.

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius, Appi filius, Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni—quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectationi principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur—patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari adsuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: "Ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum "quærentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum "debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi: cum quattuor legionibus "universis pugnari posse apparuisse eo, quod M. Minucius, "absente Fabio, prospere pugnasset; duas legiones hosti ad "cædem objectas, deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater "patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset "Romanos quam vinci: consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum "debellare possent, bellum traxisse: id fœdus inter omnes "nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem "vere plebeium, id est hominem novum fecissent: nam plebeios "nobiles jam eisdem initiatos esse sacris, et contemnere plebem, "ex quo contemni patribus desierint, cœpisse: cui non id "apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, "ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? id consules ambos ad "exercitum morando quæsisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator "esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse ut vitiosus

" dictator per augures fieret: habere igitur interregnum eos; " consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum " habiturum ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu " imperare malit."

XXXV. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Volsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu ejus essent comitia rogando conlegæ. Tum experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in conpetitoribus ejus, L. Æmilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat, et damnatione conlegæ, et sua prope, ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem, ad petitionem conpellit: is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum, quam conlega, datur consuli. Inde prætoria comitia habita: creati M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus: Philo Romæ juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit: additi duo prætores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam: omnes absentes creati sunt; nec cuiquam eorum, præter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos quem jam non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in talia tempore nullis novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt: quantæ autem copiæ peditum equitumque additæ sunt, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem millia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum; alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent. Numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adjectis, ut quina millia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pediti æquarent: septem et octoginta millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator præbuerat. Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis: nam et Romæ in Aventino et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat, sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Cæretes aquas, fontes calido, gelidas manasse: id quidem etiam quod sæpius acciderat magis terrebat: et in via Fornicata, quæ ad Campum

erat, aliquot homines de cœlo tacti exanimatique fuerant: ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt: iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiæ actæ, aurum non acceptum.

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt, "cædem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque adlatam adeo "ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique "sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe "sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope "adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus "a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse; quæ ne "accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. "Jam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo "ducentum ac viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque "et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta "millia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent; "et quantum præterea opus esset, quo jussissent, subvecturos. "Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non "uti populum Romanum, levium armatorum auxilia etiam "externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagit-"tariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac "Mauros, pugnacesque alias missile telo gentes." Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant "ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia "evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra "sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur his ad "auxilia Hannibali submittenda." Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, "virum bonum, egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, "atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, "fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice "adjuvisse: id, perinde ac deberet, gratum populo Romano "esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum, gratia rei "accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum: Victoriam omen-"que accipere, sedemque ei se divæ dare, dicare Capitolium, "templum Jovis optimi maximi: in ea arce urbis Romanæ "sacratam, volentem, propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore "populo Romano." Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus: quinqueremes ad † navium classem, quæ cum T. Otacilio prætore in Sicilia erant, quinque et viginti additæ, permissumque est ut, si e republica censeret esse, in Africam trajicerent.

XXXVIII. Delectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum

adacti milites, "jussu consulum conventuros neque injussu "abituros." Nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, et, ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites conjurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi aut petendi, et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos fœdere ad tribunos ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum. Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denunciantis "bellum "arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus "reipublicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet: se quo die "hostem vidisset, perfecturum." Conlegæ ejus Pauli una pridie quam ab urbe proficisceretur contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, "mirari se, quodne qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut "hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, "jam nunc locatus in urbe sciret quæ sibi agenda armato forent, "et diem quoque prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis con- "latis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ consilia magis res dent "hominibus, quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus inmatura "non præcepturum: optare ut, quæ caute ac consulte gesta "essent, satis prospere evenirent: temeritatem, præterquam "quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse." Id sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur:

XXXIX. "Si aut conlegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, "L. Æmili, haberes, aut tu conlegæ tui esses similis, super- "vacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules, etiam "me indicente, omnia e re publica, fide vestra faceretis, et mali "nec mea verba auribus vestris, nec consilia animis acciperetis. "Nunc et conlegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti milli tecum "omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virtus bonum et "civem fore, si altera parte claudet respublica, malis consiliis "idem ac bonis juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, "si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale "futurum censes: nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille "hostis maneat, et, cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus "locis ac temporibus si certaturus es, adversus Hannibalem "legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi "sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis "etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria: tamen ille consul "demum, et in provincia et ad exercitum cœpit furere: hic

" priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatum,
" nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem,
" insanit: et quia tantas jam nunc procellas, prælia atque acies
" jactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem
" censes facturum, et ubi extempio res verba sequitur? atqui si
" hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego
" rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut
" nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec
" gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, ut ego, contemnendo
" potius quam adpetendo gloriam, modum excesserim: sed ita
" res se habet; una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est
" qua ego gessi; nec eventus modo hoc docet—stultorum iste
" magister est—sed eadem ratio, quæ fuit futuraque, donec res
" eædem manebunt, inmutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus,
" in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum
" sunt; armis, viris, equis, commeatibus juvant juvabuntque—id
" jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt—:
" meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque
" facit: Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter
" omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque
" illi terra neque mari est pax; nullæ eum urbes accipiunt,
" nulla mœnia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem capto vivit:
" partem vix tertiam exercitus ejus habet, quem Hiberum
" amnem trajecit: plures fame quam ferro absumpsit; nec his
" paucis jam victum suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo
" superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus,
" non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? quamdiu pro
" Gereoni, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis
" mœnibus—sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor:
" Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quem ad
" modum eum ludificati sint: hæc una salutis est via, L. Paule,
" quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes
" facient: idem enim tui, quod hostium milites, volent; idem
" Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal Pœnus imperator
" cupiet: duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet: resistes autem,
" adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis si firmus steteris,
" si te neque conlegæ vana gloria, neque tua falsa infamia
" moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe aiunt, extingui num-
" quam: gloriam qui spreverit, vere eam habebit. Sine timidum
" pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, inbellem pro perito belli
" vocent: malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives
" laudent: omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal; nihil temere
" agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, sed ut agentem
" te ratio ducat, non fortuna: tuæ potestatis semper tu tuaque

"omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis, neque occasioni tuæ desis, "neque suam occasionem hosti des: omnia non properanti clara "certaque erunt; festinatio inprovida est et cæca."

XL. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, magis fatentis ea, quæ diceret, vera, quam facilia factu esse: "dictatori "magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus "conlegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis "fore? se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum ef- "fugisse: optare ut omnia prospere venirent, et, si quid adversi "caperet, hostium se telis, potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium "caput objecturum." Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, ætatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et socium peditum equitumque duobus millibus præficiunt. Hannibal, quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere: non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omnibus undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod conpertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

XLI. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præpropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis prædatoribus tumultuario prælio ac procursu magis militum, quam ex præparato aut jussu imperatorum, orto, haudquaquam par Pœnis dimicatio fuit: ad mille et septingenti cæsi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cujus eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud ægerrime pati, quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium, haud secus quam sua, nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil præter arma secum ferentes educit milites, castra plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit, transque

proximos montes læva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem, medium agmen, traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII. Ubi inluxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad prætoria consulum, nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint: quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri juberent, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum præcavendumque esse: postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura. Renunciant insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, qua vergant ad hostem, relictos, tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta, argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias vel objectum ad prædam vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, obnuntiari jam efferenti porta signa conlegæ jussit. Quod quamquam Varro ægre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperi potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.

XLIII. Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos

quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam, detecta fraude, in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit; novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuissent exposcentium stipendium debitum, querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum hæc consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliæ loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis, tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium, omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari cœpta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas, urgente fato, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in cæcatum pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi.

XLIV. Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, ut in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat: ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nanctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem, lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret, testareturque deos hominesque, hic, "nullam

"penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam vel usu cepisset "Italiam; se constrictum a conlega teneri, ferrum atque arma "iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus," ille, "si quid "projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam "legionibus accideret, se omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis eventus "participem fore" diceret: "videret ut, quibus lingua prompta "ac temeraria, æque in pugna vigerent manus."

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio jam etiam castra Romana terreri; ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen, dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto conlega, signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare, quam non adjuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen, eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt, atque ita instructa acie, in dextro cornu—id erat flumini propius—Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: lævum cornum extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt: jaculatores ex ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta: consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum, Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI. Hannibal luce prima, Balearibus levique alia armatura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornum Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata ita, ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis: Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant; dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam cæsim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus con-

stiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal, mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septemtrionem versis: ventus—Volturnum regionis incolæ vocant—adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII. Clamore sublato, procursum auxiliis, et pugna levibus primum armis commissa: deinde equitum Gallorum, Hispanorum lævum cornum cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnæ; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant in directum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo: pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat: acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis parum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, æqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem, eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie: inpulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insistere, ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo, nullo resistente, ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant, inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani defuncti nequiquam prælio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga cecideranf, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum in eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

XLVIII. Jam et sinistro cornu Romanis, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum prælium erat, segne primo et a Punica cœptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter cetera arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis, in mediam aciem accepti,

ductique ad ultimos, considere ab tergo jubentur. Ac dum prælium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt: postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum humi strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes, ac poplites cædentes, stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe prælium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea jam parte præerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, qua segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris, prope jam fessis cæde magis quam pugna, adjungit.

XLIX. Parte altera pugnæ Paulus, quamquam primo statim prælio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit sæpe cum confertis Hannibali, et aliquot locis prælium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuntianti cuidam, jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt, "Quam mallem vinctos mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre prælium, quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores, morantibus victoriam irati, trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes, et labore ac vulneribus fessos: inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum, cum, prætervehens equo, sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili," inquit "quem unum insontem "culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum: "dum et tibi virium aliquid superest, comes ego te tollere possum "ac protegere: ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris: "et jam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul, "tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto: sed cave frustra "morando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absu- "mas: abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant "ac priusquam hostis victor advenit, præsidiis firment: pri- "vatim Q. Fabio, Æmilium præceptorem ejus memorem et "vixisse adhuc, et mori: memet in hac strage militum meorum "patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum ex consulatu sim, aut "accusator conlegæ existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam "meam protegam." Hæc exagentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere: consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruerunt telis; Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas per-

fugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegentes vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte, seu consilio, nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum septuaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, cæsi dicuntur: in his ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et viginti unus tribuni militum, consulares quidam prætoriique et ædilicii; inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat; octoginta præterea aut senatores, aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo prælio tria millia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

L. Hæc est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior fœdiorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt; alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit. Binis in castris cum multitudo semiarmis sine ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in majoribus erant, mittunt, "dum prælium, deinde ex lætitia "epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se "transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse." Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: "cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, "ipsos non venire, cum æque conjungi possent? quia videlicet "plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua "corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere." Aliis non tam sententia displicere, quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum, "capi ergo mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo "et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra, et exquiri "pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, "ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quæratur? non "tu, si quidem L. Æmili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter "vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum "cumulati jacent, cives estis. Sed, antequam opprimit lux, "majoraque hostium agmina obsæpiunt iter, per hos, qui inor"dinati atque inconpositi obstrepunt portas, erumpamus. Ferro "atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes: cuneo qui"dem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, "disjicias: itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem pub"licam salvam vultis." Hæc ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes: et cum in latus dextrum,

quod patebat, Numidæ jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in majora castra ad sexcenti evaserunt, atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adjuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum, quod ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum, aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

LI. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello, diei, quod reliquum esset, noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret, et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal præfectus equitum minime cessandum ratus "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere: cum equite, "ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, præcedam." Hannibali nimis lætæ res est visa, majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo possent: itaque "voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis" ait, "ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse." Tum Maharbal: "non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere "scis, Hannibal: victoria uti nescis." Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio. Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda, fœdamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Jacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos, succisos feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem jugulumque et reliquum sanguinem jubentes haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas, obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Præcipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis, cum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

LII. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio objecto, flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centènis, et ut, eo pretio persoluto, cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium animique fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros,

quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Præda ingens parata est; et præter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera præda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit: ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt. Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit: pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senato honores habiti sunt.

LIII. Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad App. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus consularis viri filius, "Nequiquam eos "perditam spem fovere, desperatam conploratamque rem esse "publicam: nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. "Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut, deserta Italia, "ad regum aliquem transfugiant." Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli: "Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum" ait "in tanto malo esse: irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem-"publicam salvam vellent: nullo loco verius, quam ubi ea cogi-"tentur, hostium castra esse." Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in hospitium Metelli, et, cum concilium ibi juvenum, de quibus adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, "Ex mei animi sententia" inquit, "ut ego rem publicam "populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum "deserere patiar: si sciens fallo, tum me, Juppiter optime "maxime, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adfi-"cias. In hæc verba, L. Cæcili, jures postulo, ceterique qui "adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse "sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes, custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV. Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad

consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt: ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta; certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem millia hominum erant: Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum peditum equitumque copiæ essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrumne Venusiam adduci exercitum, an manere juberet Canusi. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit: et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, mœnibusque se certe ii, et si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri. Romam, ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum, deletasque omnes copias, adlatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri, neque adgrediar narrare quæ edissertando minora vero faciebant. Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno omisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla jam castra Romana, nec ducem, nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset: conpares aut cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium prælio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt: aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte conparandæ sunt nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

LV. P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius prætores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent: neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum malis, sicuti ingentibus, ita ignotis, nec consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et—nondum palam facto—vivi mortuique et per omnes pæne domos promiscue conplorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit "equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios "percunctando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore "—referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, et, si "quid dii inmortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis "fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ sint: quo se Hannibal post prælium

"contulerit, quid paret, quid agat, acturusque sit. Hæc explo-
"randa noscendaque per inpigros juvenes esse. Illud per patres
"ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum
"ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant, con-
"tinerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, conploratus fami-
"liarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum
"omnium ad prætores deducendos curent, suæ quisque fortunæ
"domi auctorem expectent: custodesque præterea ad portas
"ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem, cogantque
"homines nullam, nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis, salutem sperare:
"ubi conticuerit recte tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos,
"consulendumque de urbis custodia esse."

LVI. Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, submotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litteræ a C. Terentio consule adlatæ sunt, "L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum, sese
"Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colli-
"gentem: ad decem millia militum ferme esse inconpositorum
"inordinatorumque: Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum
"pretiis prædaque alia, nec victoris animo, nec magni ducis
"more, nundinantem." Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatusconsulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Sicilia litteræ adlatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio prætore: "regnum Hieronis classe Punica
"vastari: cui cum opem inploranti ferre vellent, nuntiatum his
"esse aliam classem ad Ægates insulas stare paratam instruc-
"tamque ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram
"Pœni sensissent, Lilybæum extemplo provinciamque aliam
"Romanam adgrederentur: itaque classe opus esse, si regem
"socium Siciliamque tueri vellent."

LVII. Litteris consulis prætorisque perlectis, M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli ut, cum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum reipublicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades, cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri conpertæ: et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat: L. Cantilius scriba pon-

tificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro bovario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consæptum, et jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, inbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quot in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit: ipse, legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum præmissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo conlegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Junius, et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, delectu edicto, juniores ab annis decem septem, et quosdam prætextatos scribunt: quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt: arma, tela, alia parari jubent, et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, et empta publice armaverunt: hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam, victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus, sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos—quod numquam alias antea—satis miti sermone adloquitur: "non internecivum "sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio "certare: et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse, et se id adniti, ut "suæ invicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redi- "mendi se captivis copiam facere: pretium fore in capite equiti "quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo cen- "tenos." Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, læti tamen quamcumque conditionem paciscendi acceperunt: placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent: nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut jurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his

Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animos, conditiones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingeni homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, jurisjurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius "Patres conscripti," inquit, "nemo " nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos " quam nostræ. Ceterum, nisi nobis plus justo nostra placet " causa, non alii umquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos, in " hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem " arma tradidimus; sed, cum prope ad noctem superstantes " cumulis cæsorum corporum prælium extraxissemus, in castra " recepimus nos: diei reliquum ad noctem insequentem fessi " labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati: postero die, cum " circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla jam " per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas " duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostra " trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem " restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimit- " teremur; arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradi- " dimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro " redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad conditiones " pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum " misisse: atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis, et ad Heracleam cum " Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga " pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum " tegunt, nec supersumus pugnæ, nisi in quibus trucidandis et " ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris " quidam, qui nec in acie quidem refugerunt, sed præsidio cas- " tris relicti, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium " venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunæ " aut conditioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse " velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus " aliquod præmium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes " non prius, quam Venusiæ aut Canusi, constiterunt, se nobis " merito prætulerint, gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobismet " præsidii reipublicæ esse: sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militi- " bus utemini, et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod " beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. " Delectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis; octo millia servo- " rum audio armari: non minor numerus noster est, nec majore

" pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur: nam si conferam " nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in " tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres con- " scripti, si tamen duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito " faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho videlicet, qui vos " hospitum numero captivos habuit, an barbaro ac Pœno, qui " utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest. Si " videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, " non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera " parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. " Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ " stantium cognatorum nostrorum, expectantiumque responsum " vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt, ita suspensi " ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum " in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, me dius fidius, " ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, " nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni, ut " redimeremur a vobis, visi sumus. Rediere Romam quondam " remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti: sed rediere cum legatis, " primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego " in patriam trecentis nummis non æstimatus civis? Suum " quisque animum habet, patres conscripti: scio in discrimine " esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famæ periculum " movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim " vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in forum ac turbæ virorum inmiscuerat. Senatus, submotis arbitris, consuli cœptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice inpensam faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentiam deesset, dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam, prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis duræ, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro his, qui in " hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione " eorum brevi sententiam peregissem: quid enim aliud quam " admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus, necessario " ad rem militarem exemplo, servaretis. Nunc autem, cum " prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint præferrique " non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Ve- " nusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio

" consuli, æquum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti,
" quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ
" apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem,
" optimum testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis: aut unus hic
" saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti
" essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium
" potestate essent: et cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum vic-
" toria lætis, et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem
" ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem millia armatorum
" hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque
" per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt.
" Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere,
" adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies
" ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem
" sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum
" urbes posse. Sicut avorum memoria P. Decius, tribunus
" militum, in Samnio; sicut, nobis adolescentibus, prope Punico
" bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumu-
" lum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit
" 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione
" 'circumventas legiones:' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec
" viros quidem, nec Romanos vos duceret, si nemo tantæ virtutis
" extitisset comes: viam non ad gloriam magis, quam ad
" salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam, ad parentes,
" ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis
" animus: quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis?
" Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die
" cæsa jacent: si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil
" umquam movebit: si tanta cædes vilem vitam non fecit, nulla
" faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo
" desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus estis. Sero nunc
" desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati jure civium, servi Car-
" thaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia
" ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non
" audistis, arma capere ac sequi se jubentem: Hannibalem post
" paulo audistis, castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam
" ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare!
" Non enim modo sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsis-
" tere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi
" inertes submovissent: prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium
" agmen, quam per hostium, fuit erumpendum. Hos cives
" patria desideret, et quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem
" hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet? Ex
" millibus septem armatorum sexcenti extiterunt qui erumpere

" auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent; neque " iis sexcenti hostes obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope " legionum agminis futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie " viginti millia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres con- " scripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque— " nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt, nisi " quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, " obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos, cum incolumitati, " tum gloriæ illorum per virtutem partæ, cum sibi timorem " ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant? Ma- " luerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem ex- " pectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. Ad " erumpendum e castris defuit animus; ad tutanda fortiter castra " animum habuerunt: dies noctesque aliquot obsessi, vallum " armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt: tandem ultima ausi passique, " cum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent, adfectisque fame viribus, " arma jam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis, " quam armis, victi sunt. Orto sole ab hostibus ad vallum " accessum; ante secundam horam nullam fortunam certaminis " experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos: hæc vobis ipsorum per " biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, " tum in castra refugerunt: cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, " castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et " vos redimam? Cum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac " manetis: cum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra " et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redi- " mendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hanni- " bali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt, ac per summam " virtutem se patriæ restituerunt."

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione adtingebant, præter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit, qua nec ærarium exhaurire, magna jam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, " non redimi captivos," redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus, questibus legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit, relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt conprehendendum et, custodibus publice datis, deducendum ad Hannibalem esse. Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse de iis cum dubitatum in senatu esset,

admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur: morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium: tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum, et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent: de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos censuerint: ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas. Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quæ ad eum diem firma steterat, tum labare cœpit, nulla profecto alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani: præter hos Uzentini et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit, renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ, quod de re publica non desperasset: qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

NOTES.

BOOK XXI.

LIVI is here used for the later LIVII. So generally throughout this edition the contracted form of the genitive of words in *-ius* and *-ium* will be found; *e. g. Appi, imperi, fili,* for the later forms *Appii, imperii, filii.* So in Virgil we have, "Capitoli immobile saxum;" and in Horace, "Vis consili expers."

i. The character and causes of the second Punic war.—*in parte . . . scriptores,* "It may be permitted me to premise, with respect to a part of my work, what many historians have announced at the beginning of their entire undertaking." *Plerique* is here equivalent to *multi*, as in x. 31: "in exercitu Appi Claudi plerosque fulminibus ictos nuntiatum est." The historian specially referred to is, no doubt, Thucydides. See the first chapter of his History.—*summæ totius* answers to τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως of Polybius, iii. 1. Livy adduces four reasons why this war was the greatest ever carried on: (1) The nations that now engaged in conflict were the mightiest the world had ever seen, and were then, each of them, at the summit of their strength. (2) They had already measured their might against each other, and knew what each could do. (3) The conflict was so long and doubtful, that the victors were at one time (just after the battle of Cannæ) nearer ruin than the vanquished were at the very time when (just after the battle of Zama) they finally succumbed. (4) They fought with the fury of hate; the Romans being indignant that the once conquered Carthaginians should assume the offensive (*ultro inferrent arma*) against their former conquerors, and the Carthaginians being equally enraged at the haughtiness and rapacity of the Romans.—*belli artes inter se conserere* is a phrase formed after the model of *manus inter se conserere.*—*fuerint* is the aorist, not the present perfect; *they were,* not *they have been.*—*propius periculum . . . viderunt: periculum* is the accusative after *propius.* For a similar sentiment see Silius Italicus, i. 13: *propiusque fuere periclo, Queis superare datum.*—*perfecto Africo bello.* The war referred to was one waged between the Carthaginians on the one side, and the mercenaries whom they were not in a condition to pay, together with the native African tribes, from whom they had extorted such vast sums for the prosecution of the war, on the other. The genius of Hamilcar enabled the Carthaginians to emerge victorious, after a desperate and bloody struggle. *Sacrificaret* must, of course, refer, not to Hannibal, the previous subject of the sentence, but to Hamilcar.—*Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ.* Sicily was given up by the Carthaginians when they sued for peace, in consequence of the celebrated naval victory of Ægusa gained over them by the Roman consul, Caius Lutatius Catulus. Sardinia and Corsica were torn from them three years afterwards by the Romans, from a mean jealousy at the successful

issue of the African war just mentioned. At the same time the Carthaginians were compelled to pay 12,000 talents for injuries which they had never committed, and hostile intentions which they had never entertained. *Rerum* is the objective genitive.—*inter motum Africæ.* This is not strictly the case. The Romans behaved with forbearance while the African disturbances lasted. Their jealousy was not roused till they saw Hamilcar's skill triumphant.

ii. The progress of the Carthaginians in Spain.—*anxius*, from *angere*, *to choke.*—*per quinque annos.* This is not correct. The war lasted three years and four months.—*augendo imperio* is the ablative, governed by *in* understood.—*flore ætatis . . . adscitus*, "beloved by him on account of the beauty of his person, and then adopted by him as his son-in-law, on account of his other, that is to say, his mental qualities."—*provecto annis*, the common reading for *profecto animi*, is open to several objections, and is besides only a conjecture, supported by no manuscript.—*factionis Barcinæ.* The Barcine faction was so called from Barca, the surname of the great Hamilcar Barca, who is here represented by Livy, in a point of view taken from Roman history, as having formed a party hostile to Rome out of the army and the commons, and opposed to the chief men of Carthage. In the next chapter, however, he is compelled to acknowledge that the party so formed had the majority in the senate too. In fact, there can be no doubt that Hamilcar's policy was the only noble policy, and that the sleepless rapacity of Rome was too patent to be overlooked by any one who loved his country better than his shop.—*quoque* is here used rather than *etiam*, because Livy would represent that the barbarian had the same composure of countenance, *both* when he was seized *and* when he was tortured. *Præbuerit* is the aorist, not the present perfect. Livy frequently employs this tense after *ut*, when it implies a *consequence*, not a *purpose* (see Arnold's Lat. Pr. Comp., 418), where most writers would use the past imperfect, in order to give a greater historic prominence to the consequence, and show that it actually *did* happen.—*fœdus.* The treaty concluded to put an end to the first Punic war.—*finis utriusque . . . Iberus.* This statement is calculated to mislead. The Romans had no actual possessions, though they had allies, in Spain at the time alluded to. The agreement was, that the Carthaginians should not extend their conquests to the east of the Ebro.—*Saguntinis*, the people of *Saguntum*, a town lying nearly a hundred miles south-west of the Ebro, though Polybius and Livy seem to have thought it was just to the east of it. On its site is the modern town of *Murviedro*, so called from the remains of the ancient walls (*muri veteres*). Partly founded on the geographical mistake just noted, is the assertion of Livy, that in this new treaty with Hasdrubal was a clause stipulating that the Saguntines, being between the dominions of the two powers, should retain their liberty. This, however, is probably a pure invention to put the Carthaginians decidedly in the wrong, for Polybius never mentions the circumstance.

iii. Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal as general.—*in Hasdrubalis locum . . . sequeretur.* This sentence is not strictly grammatical. *In Hasdrubalis locum* ought to have been closely connected with *appellatus erat* in the relative clause, instead of standing, as it now does, in the principal clause. It was placed at the commencement for the sake of emphasis, and the construction was not altered to suit its new position.—*vixdum puberem.* Hannibal was at this time at least twenty-two years of age. He was nine when his father Hamilcar went to Spain, eighteen when his father died, and twenty-two or twenty-three when Hasdrubal is represented, about

three years before his death, as sending for him to be his lieutenant. This statement, therefore, is a proof of Livy's carelessness.—*Hanno*, surnamed the Great, though for what reason it is difficult to discover. He was the constant leader of the opponents of the Barcine faction. The speech is, without doubt, an entire fabrication. Livy himself tells us (xxx. 37) afterwards that Hannibal never saw Carthage from the time he left it at nine years of age to go to Spain, till he returned a little before the battle of Zama. The two passages were probably copied from different authors with Livy's usual carelessness of fact, and love for what would produce a fine dramatic situation. Two reasons are suggested in the speech for keeping Hannibal at home: (1) That his morals may not be corrupted by Hasdrubal. (2) That he may learn to respect law and order from an enforced submission to civil magistrates.—*prætorum*, derived from *præ*, *before*, and the termination *tor*, and therefore readily applicable to leaders of armies. Hence consuls at Rome were first called *prætores*.—*regni paterni* and *regis* are used invidiously for *imperi paterni* and *ducis*, though it is quite true that, as Spain had been chiefly acquired by Hamilcar and his son-in-law, and the Spaniards had been personally attached to Hamilcar, and were now equally so to Hasdrubal, the power wielded by both of them was far more kingly than that ordinarily at the command of a Carthaginian general.—*quandoque*, "at some time or other."

iv. Hannibal's character. —*ac*, "and indeed," is another form of *atque=adque*, and subjoins the more important *ferme optimus quisque* to explain *pauci*. It is worth while to notice how many terms significative of moral worth have in all languages been used to signify adhesion to the cause of the few. *Optimus* here does not mean "best morally," but "best politically, siding with the aristocratic party." So, also, *meliorem partem* in the next line.—*vultu*, *vultus*, is the upper part, *os* the lower part of the face.—*in se*. *Se* is the ablative. *Malle*, *confidere*, *audere* are historical infinitives; that is, they are used instead of the past imperfect indicative, as is often the case in historical writing, to bring the various portions of the scene forward in quick succession.—*fortiter ac strenue*, "with courage and activity."—*custodias stationesque*. The former word signifies a smaller number of troops, guarding at intervals *within* the fortifications. By the latter is signified a greater number, engaged on *outpost duty*.—*inter æquales = inter æquatium vestitum*.—*inhumana crudelitas*, *perfidia plus quam Punica*. Both these charges I believe to be false. Polybius (ix. 24) expressly denies both. The Romans were never to be believed about an enemy. There is no doubt that Hannibal never did anything one-fiftieth part so bad as the crime of which the whole Roman people were guilty, in snatching Sardinia and Corsica from Carthage on a lying pretext, in a moment of intense temporary weakness. Had Carthaginian accounts come down to us, *Roman faith*, not *Punic*, would have been another name for perfidy.—*nihil veri*, *nihil sancti . . . nulla religio*. The Romans had no words in their language to express such abstract notions as untruthfulness, ungodliness, perjury, &c., because they were not untruthful, ungodly, or perjured, at the time their language was formed. Hence the notions are here expressed by circumlocutions, with the help of the negative words *nihil* and *nullus*. That these statements are not true has been already asserted, partly on the authority of Polybius. But Livy himself disproves some of them by his own statements in xxi. 21, 22; in xxv. 17; xxvii. 28; &c.

v. Hannibal prepares to besiege Saguntum.—*quia . . . Romana arma movebantur=non dubium erat quin futurum esset ut Romana arma*

moverentur. There was no doubt that, if Hannibal attacked Saguntum without *any* pretext, the Romans would be able to prove indisputably to his countrymen that he was altogether in the wrong. Therefore he began to *make* a pretext, by stirring up the people round about, and involving them in quarrels with the Saguntines.—*Olcadum.* The Olcades lived to the north of New Carthage, near the source of the Guadiana.—*ultra Iberum.* To the south of the Ebro; *beyond* it, to an inhabitant of Rome.—*rerum serie . . . jungendoque=ad conjungendam domitarum gentium seriem,* "that he might seem to have been drawn on to round off his dominion by the course of events, and the successive annexation of all the neighbouring tribes."—*Carlalam.* The correct name, *Althæa,* is given by Polybius (iii. 13).—*Carthaginem novam.* A town built south of C. Palos by Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, in the immediate neighbourhood of the richest silver mines in Spain. It was called *New Carthage,* to distinguish it from the African Carthage, though the word Carthago itself means *New City,* and therefore *Carthago nova=urbs nova nova.* Carthago nova was the chief of all the Carthaginian possessions in Spain; its site is now occupied by the modern Cartagena.—*civium.* There were very few of Hannibal's fellow-citizens in his army to pay. Livy was thinking of the composition of the Roman armies. The Carthaginian armies consisted all but exclusively of mercenaries. The citizens of Carthage itself were too fond of money-making and luxury to like soldiering. Hence it was that they fell before the warrior citizens of Rome, just as in mediæval times, the silken Italians, for the same reason, fell before the iron legions of France, Germany, and Spain.—*Vaccæos.* The Vaccæi dwelt on the Douro; Salmantica, the modern Salamanca, was their capital. This is, as far as we know, the furthest to which the Carthaginians ever pushed their conquests in Spain in that direction. The use of the preposition *in,* instead of *ad,* before *Vaccæos,* shows that the name of the nation is here used as the name of the place in which the nation lives. So *ex* is often used instead of *a* or *ab.*—*Carpetanos.* One of the most powerful tribes of Spain, inhabiting a great part of Old and New Castile.—*ab hostibus,* "on the part of the enemy."—*valloque ita producto,* "and his rampart having been *only just so far* removed from the river that . . ."—*adpendicibus.* This word is used to show that the great majority of the Spanish army was Carpetanian. A mere handful comparatively were Olcades and Vaccæi.—*inmissa,* "sent in" by Hannibal.—*medioque alveo,* "in the middle of the channel."—*vix vado fidens,* "hardly daring to step firmly in the shallow part of the river."—*amni* is ablative for the commoner *amne.* So we find in cap. xlv. *Maharbali* for *Maharbale—tanto pavore=in* tanto pavore; "before they could free themselves of the fear *in* which they still were."—*fugam ex ripa fecit=fecit ut ex ripa fugerent.*—*et jam omnia . . . Carthaginiensium erant.* So Polybius, iii. 14. *ὧν ἡττηθέντων οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἐντὸς Ἴβηρος ποταμοῦ ῥᾳδίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντοφθαλμεῖν ἐτόλμα πλὴν Ζακανθαίων.*

vi. The Saguntines send ambassadors to Rome to sue for protection.—*ceterum* is often used by Livy, especially after *non* in the sense of *sed.*—*Turdetanis.* The Turdetani dwelt between the Guadalquiver and Guadiana, about Seville. It is difficult, therefore, to imagine how a tribe, living the whole breadth of the peninsula from the Saguntines, could have picked a quarrel with them. Hence Niebuhr wishes to read *Edetanis* for *Turdetanis;* the Edetani being a tribe close to Saguntum, in Valencia and Arragon, and being then, without doubt, under Carthaginian influence. This is the more possible, as Polybius does not mention the matter at all, and Appian, though he calls them by another name, *Τορβολήτας,* adds *οἱ γειτονές*

εἰσι Ζακυνθίων. *Ti.* stands for *Tiberius*, as *T.* alone stands for *Titus*. —*consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus.* The following note from Ruperti should be well studied: "Longe probabilius diligentiusque singula exponit, quo potissimum duce Noster in hoc bello describendo uti solet, Polybius, lib. iii. cc. 13—17, 20, 33, et sq. scil. P. Cornelio et M. Minucio consulibus (that is, 533 A. U. C.), Hannibalem imperio in Hispania suscepto, Althæam, Olcadum oppidum cepisse, et Carthaginem novam concessisse in hiberna; L. Veturio et C. Lutatio consulibus (that is, 534 A. U. C.), Vaccæos Carpetanosque ab eo devictos, et legatos Saguntinos Romam, Romanosque in Hispaniam ad Hannibalem missos esse, qui eum Sagunto abstinere juberent; M. Livio et L. Æmilio consulibus (that is, 535 A. U. C.), Saguntum oppugnatam captamque esse, et novos legatos Roma Carthaginem venisse, qui deposcerent Hannibalem, bellumque Pœnis indicerent; P. Cornelio Scipione et Ti. Sempronio consulibus (that is, 536 A. U. C.), Hannibalem populis Hispaniæ usque ad Pyrenæum subactis, per Galliam ad Alpes profectum et inde in Italiam trangressum esse. Polybius, iii. 33, notat mendacia scriptorum quales Livio ante oculos fuere, doctque se res ab Hannibale in Hispania gestas, hausisse ex ænea tabula ab ipso Hannibale descripta."—*quibus si videretur=qui, si iis videretur.*—*spe*, "expectation."—*intenderant.* The past perfect is often introduced by Livy after a past imperfect or present perfect to attract the reader's attention, and fix it on what follows. Here it introduces the advice which was ultimately acted on.

vii. The siege of Saguntum. The chapters containing Livy's account of this siege are among the most beautiful he ever wrote. They are however, far too full and minute to be authentic. Polybius does not profess to enter into such details. He merely says that the town, after having been besieged for eight months, was taken by storm; that Hannibal gained immense booty, and thus made the Carthaginians willing to second his designs. Livy probably took his account from the work of Cælius Antipater, who was rather a rhetorician than an historian, and is therefore an untrustworthy authority. Cicero does not speak of him with any great respect, De Or. ii., 13: "Sed iste ipse Cælius neque distinxit historiam varietate locorum; neque verborum collocatione, et tractu orationis leni et æquabili perpolivit illud opus; sed ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut potuit, dolavit; vicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores." *Dum ea Romani parant.* Notice how *dum, whilst,* governs the present imperfect tense, even though the verb in the principal clause, *oppugnabatur,* is in the past imperfect.—*oriundi,* agrees with *Saguntini* understood in *civitas.* So xxvi. 19: "Emporiis, urbe Græca (oriundi et ipsi a Phocæa sunt), copias exposuit."—*Zacyntho.* Zante, one of the seven Ionian isles. Ζάκανθα, the Greek name for Saguntum, is so like Zacynthus, that that likeness probably created the story of the connection in origin between the two.—*ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis,* "some of the race of the Rutulians from Ardea." Ardea was a town about twenty-four miles from Rome, of considerable importance, as this legend testifies, in very early times.—*fructibus,* "commercial gains."—*disciplinæ sanctitate . . . coluerunt,* "by the purity of their moral principles, which led them to keep their faith to their allies, even to their own destruction." This is a flourish of Livy's. The Saguntines fought for themselves. They owed the Romans nothing.—*submovere; pati,* &c., are historic infinitives. —*adversum femur,* "the front of the thigh."

viii. The siege of Saguntum continued.—*dum . . . curaretur. Dum*

governs the subjunctive here, because it relates not merely to *time*, but to *purpose*. See Arnold's Lat. Comp. 508 (b).—*partibus*. *Pars* often occurs in Livy in the ablative governed by a preposition understood.—*continentibus ruinis*, "a continuous breach."—*per occasionem partis alterius*, "as either party seizes on or gives an opportunity for an attack."—*justæ acies*, "pitched battles," "quæ *jure* dici possent *acies*." Crevier.—*phalárica*. This ponderous spear was so called from *phala*, a wooden tower or scaffolding used in sieges, to throw missiles from into a besieged city.—*tereti*, "round," from *terere, to rub smooth*."—*nudum*, "without arms, defenceless."

ix. Hannibal refuses an audience to the Roman ambassadors.—*operæ esse = operæ pretium esse, vacare*. This of course, as well as the former reason given, was a mere pretence.—*præmittit* is the historic present, and therefore equivalent to a past tense.—*gratificari* pro *Romanis* is an unusual construction. Some commentators therefore have, with some show of reason, supposed that Livy wrote *gratificari populo Romano*, which, being contracted into *p. Rom.*, might easily have been altered by transcribers into *pro Romanis*.

x. Hanno's speech on the complaints of the Roman ambassadors at Carthage. This speech is a very beautiful one, but is of course entirely a creation of Livy's, in order to give a dramatic representation of what he conceived to be the views of the peace-party at Carthage.—*adversus senatum*, "before the senate." The common reading *adverso senatu*, besides being against the manuscripts, would make the expression *non cum adsensu* superfluous.—*monuisse, prædixisse &c.*, "that he had advised and forewarned them." So προειπεῖν is used in Greek.—*ulti* agrees with *Romani* understood in *Romanæ legiones*.—*bonus imperator vester*, "that precious general of yours," that is, of the Barcine faction.—*publica fraus absit*; "Concessio ex personâ Romanorum; quasi diceret Hanno; fœderis rupti et pœnam non publicam esse Carthaginiensium, sed solius Hannibalis propriam; Romani facile patiuntur." Crevier.—*Ægates insulas*. Three small islands lying off the western angle of Sicily, near which C. Lutatius Catulus gained the great naval victory which put an end to the first Punic war. The largest of them, Ægusa, is now called Favignana.—*Erycem*. A town and mountain in the western angle of Sicily, held by Hamilcar in spite of the efforts of the Romans to dislodge him, till the victory of Catulus made the Carthaginians sue for peace.—*Mars alter*. So Horace, Sat. ii. 3, 296: Hæc mihi Stertinius sapientum octavus, amico Asyna dedit.—*isti*. The Barcine faction.—*Tarento, id est Italia*. *Italy* is added to explain *Tarentum*, because *Italy*, not *Tarentum*, was mentioned in the treaty. Polybius, however (iii. 26), expressly denies that there was any such agreement; μήτε γεγονότος, μήθ' ὑπάρχοντος τὸ παράπαν ἐγγράφου τοιούτου μηδενός.—*Sagunti non abstinemus*. So Hor. Carm. iii. 27, 69: abstineto, Dixit, irarum calidæque rixæ,"—*id ita quo verbis ambigebatur*. "Possis ordinare in hunc modum: *Eventus belli . . . ei victoriam dedit, unde jus stabat, id de quo*, sive quæ erat res de qua *verbis ambigebatur*, nempe *uter populus fœdus rupisset*." Crev. This insertion of the relative clause before the proposition to which it refers, is usual. Thus Cic. pro Sex. Rosc. Am. 4: "Sin a vobis (id quod non spero) deseror, tamen animo non deficiam."—*dedendum, devehendum, ablegandum*, are governed by some such word as *jubeo*, understood in the preceding *detestor*, or in the following *censeo*.—*deposcit*. I should prefer to read with some, *deposcat*.

xi. The siege of Saguntum continued.—*in hostes stimulando*, is in apposition to, and explains *ira*.—*pro contione*, "before the assembled

army." *Contio*, generally spelt *concio*, because it has erroneously been derived from *concieo*, is a contraction for *conventio*.—*cæmenta*,—"rough-hewn stone," contracted for *cædmenta*, from *cædo*.—*calce durata*, "cemented with lime."—*latius quam qua cæderetur ruebat*. "Latior erat ruina quam ea pars muri, quæ cæsa sive icta fuerat." *Cæderetur* is in the subjunctive to show that this destruction happened, not in one part of the wall, but *wherever it might be struck*.—*Oretanos*, a powerful tribe of Spain, living in Granada, Murcia, and La Mancha.

xii. The siege continued.—*Maharbale*, one of the best of Hannibal's officers. He performed many brilliant exploits during the war. He it was who urged Hannibal to march on to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. —*cives*, "the Carthaginian army." There were, however, as has been already explained, very few *citizens* of Carthage in the army. *Hispanum*. Alorcus is said to be a Spaniard, not a Saguntine, because the Saguntines are supposed by Livy to be Greeks.—*aliquid*, "in some measure." —*alia* = muri, munimenta, arces.—*prætorem*, "the chief magistrate." *senatus*, "an interview with the senate."

xiii. Alorcus's speech.—*quo*, sc. *itinere . . . nec ullius alterius*, "and not in the interest of Hannibal."—*postquam . . . est*. A rare construction. *Postquam* seldom has the present after it, unless it be the historic present. —*si . . . audiatis, si . . . habituri estis*. Notice how Livy varies the mood after *si* in the case of the two verbs.—*captam habet*, "has taken and still keeps."—*binis*, "two a-piece." Livy represents Hannibal as relaxing his terms in this respect. In c. 12, he says, *singulis vestimentis*.

xiv. The siege continued.—*plerique*, refers to *primores*, "most of the leading men."—*semet ipsi*. *Ipse* is generally attracted to the case of the subject, unless it is specially intended to mark that the subject did the thing to himself, rather than to any one else. Thus we should say *nosce te ipsum*, not *nosce te ipse*.—*crudele . . . cognitum ipso eventu est*. This is an instance of zeugma, or two subjects having a common verb, which applies properly to only one of them. The meaning is: "crudele fuit, ceterum necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est." Alschefski however translates it thus: "which cruel command was however in other respects shown by the result to be inevitable." *Crudele*, this cruel order was probably never given. Polybius says nothing about it. It no doubt owes its origin to the deadly hate which the Romans bore to Hannibal. How an enormous spoil in money, slaves, and goods could have been gained, when almost all the city was either a heap of ruins or burnt, and all the men, and most of the women and children perished, Livy does not explain. —*super se ipsos*, "over their own heads." Here the sense requires *ipsos*, not *ipsi*. See the previous note.

xv. The capture of the town, and the date of the capture.—*Octavo mense, quam*, not "after seven full months, and in the middle of the eighth," but "eight full months after." See Arnold's Lat. Comp., p. 89, n. r.—*quidam scripsere*. See Polybius, iii. 17: "τέλος ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ κατὰ κράτος εἶλε τὴν πόλιν."—*quæ si vera sunt, fieri non potuit ut*. Livy, as has already been shown in the notes on c. vi., has got himself into these difficulties by attempting to crowd the events of four years into one. Hannibal entered on his command in the year 533 A.U.C., burst into Italy in the year 536, and conquered C. Flaminius, the colleague of C. Servilius, at the Trasymene Lake in the year 537. The supposition of Livy would therefore not do away with all the contradictions in which he has involved himself.

xvi. Preparations for war.—*sociorum* is the objective genitive.—*de*

summa rerum, "for the very existence of the state."—*nam neque hostem . . . congressum, nec rem Romanam . . . fuisse*, governed by *dicebant*, or *sentiebant*, understood. Such verbs are often omitted by Livy in lively narration. The Romans were moved at the near prospect of the war: (1) Because they had never engaged with so potent an enemy, led by so renowned a general, inured to arms by such long-continued campaigns, flushed with so great a victory, and incited by such valuable spoils; and, (2) Because they themselves had never been so sunk in sloth, and so unfit for war by reason of such long-continued peace, broken only by contemptible contests with undisciplined barbarians.—*Sardos, Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios.* Sardinia and Corsica were of course easily reduced by the Romans, after they had been disgracefully filched from the Carthaginians. The Istrians and Illyrians, having annoyed the Romans by their piracies, were subdued with almost as little trouble, the former in the years 533 and 534, and the latter in 525 A.U.C.—*cum Gallis.* The war with the Gauls was a much more important affair. The dread of it had hung over the Romans for several years, and prevented them from interfering with the progress of the Carthaginians in Spain, though they were aware and jealous of it. From the year 516 A.U.C. the Gauls were threatening an attack, and so much were they dreaded that as many as 300,000 of the Romans and of the Latin name were in arms to repel them; and there were reserves to the amount of 450,000 more. At length, in the year 529, the Gauls came, and were not finally subdued till after a resistance protracted through four desperate campaigns. The only war that occurred between the first and second Punic wars, besides these mentioned here by Livy, was the Ligurian war, which was put an end to by Q. Fabius Maximus, then consul for the first time, 521 A.U.C.—*in Italia.* It is not at all probable that the Romans could as yet have had the least notion that they would have to fight with Hannibal "in Italy and before the walls of Rome." Hannibal was not likely to let them know it, so long as he could keep it secret, and they themselves had been reluctant to commence the war earlier, not only from fear of the Gaulish invasion, but because they thought they must carry on the war at great expense and loss by sea (as indeed is shown in the opening words of the next chapter), either in Spain or in Africa itself. Hannibal's intention probably oozed out, after the taking of Saguntum was known at Rome, from information derived from some of the Gauls, whose disposition Hannibal had been sounding.

xvii. Disposition of the Roman forces.—*socium*, for *sociorum.* So words of the second declension, signifying weights, measures, and money, form their genitives in *-um*, instead of *-orum.* Livy also is fonder of the forms *deum, fabrum, liberum, socium, duum*, than of the corresponding longer forms *deorum, fabrorum, sociorum, duorum—quattuor et viginti . . . millia*, &c. Each of the six legions, then, must have consisted of 4000 foot and 300 horse.—*ipsis*, that is, *consulibus — celoces, cutters;* connected with *celer*, and the Greek κέλης.—*vellent, juberent*, "whether they wished and ordered."—*deducti*, "launched."—*bellum* is here put in the relative clause, instead of being put in the principal one.—*ea*, "those legions." Though *ea*, instead of agreeing with *legiones* in gender is attracted, as is often the case, to the gender of the following word *millia.*—*cum suo justo equitatu*, that is, "with 300 horse for each legion.—*duas legiones . . . Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit*, may be translated in two ways, according as *versa* is made to agree with *millia*, taken as a collective word embodying the general idea of troops,

or with *Gallia provincia*. In the first case the sentence would run thus: "the province of Gaul had two Roman legions, and 10,000 foot and 1000 horse of the allies, all destined for the same purpose, that is, for the Punic war." In the second case the meaning would be: "the province of Gaul lying in the same direction, that is, in the direction of the Punic war, had" . . . &c. "*The province of Gaul*" is of course Gallia Cisalpina, which had just before been reduced to the form of a dependent province.

xviii. The declaration of war.—*ut omnia justa ante bellum fierent*, "that everything that was right and proper under such circumstances should be done before the war was formally entered upon." The ambassadors were the celebrated Q. Fabius Cunctator, "unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem," M. Livius and L. Æmilius, the consuls of the previous year, C. Licinius, the same probably who was consul in the year 518, and Q. Bæbius one of the members of the original embassy.—*unus*, of course, agrees with *inquit* understood.—*cæterum* is used instead of a second *et* to answer to the former one, because the sense requires an adversative particle, and the omitted clause *et hæc legatio præceps est* can easily be supplied.—adhuc = not *etiam*, but *hucusque*, "up to this point," intimating that the speaker expected some sterner words to follow. —*ego* . . . *censeam*, "I should venture to think."—*necdum enim erant socii vestri*. This is a pitiful excuse. As Polybius remarks, if, in the treaty that was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians at the end of the first Punic war, when it was stipulated that they should not injure each other's allies, it had been intended that the clause was not to apply to any nations who might afterwards become the allies of either people, a limitation to that effect would have been inserted in the body of the treaty. —*at enim* answering to the Greek ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ, introduces an objection which the opposite party would be likely to urge. Hence its use by Livy in speeches, not in historical narrative. The answer to the objection so introduced is a poor one. It is very probable that at the time that the Romans made the treaty with Hasdrubal, mentioned in c. 2, Carthage was in a state of anarchy, and that therefore it was difficult to find any regular authority but Hasdrubal to treat with. However this may be, the Carthaginians tacitly accepted the treaty afterwards, and though, in spite of Livy's assertion, it said nothing about the Saguntines (see Polybius, iii. 27), yet it stipulated that the Carthaginians should not go beyond the Hiberus with an army; and this stipulation Hannibal fully intended to transgress. With regard to the non-recognition on the part of the Roman people of the treaty agreed to by Lutatius Catulus, *that* had been provided for by a clause in the treaty itself, which ended with these words "κυρίας εἶναι ταύτας ἐὰν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων," Polybius, iii. 29. The fact is that the Carthaginians were not putting forward their true reasons for wishing to go to war again, and therefore, alleging as they did, mere pretexts, got the worst of the argument. The conduct of Hannibal was contrary to the spirit both of Lutatius Catulus's treaty and Hasdrubal's treaty; and he and his countrymen knew it. They acted as they did because of their deep sense of the shameful conduct of the Romans with repect to Sardinia and Corsica at a time when Carthage was in its lowest state of weakness and depression. Thus it was the sin of Rome that "found her out," that gave her a vital stab from which she never after recovered, and has helped to point the old (but never to be forgotten) truth, that evil deeds create their own punishment.

xix. Remarks on the meaning of the treaties between Rome and Carthage. *Sagunto excisa*. *Saguntо* may here come from the feminine form *Saguntus*.

So Florus, ii. 6: "Igitur in causam belli Saguntus delecta est." Or it may be supposed to be in apposition with *urbe* understood. So Virg., Æn. viii. 561: "Præneste sub ipsa." Seneca, Troa. 14: "excisa ferro est Pergamum."—*nam;* the usual force of this adverb will appear, if we supply the omission in the line of thought. "And yet they could have met them on their own grounds; *for* &c."—*quid,* "*in* what respect;" *Lutatii priore fœdere,* "the former treaty made by Lutatius."—*diserte,* "expressly."—*censuisset. Censere* is generally used of the senate, *juberet* of the people. See Livy, xxxi. 7: "Quæ patres censuerunt, vos jubeto." But here *populus* may be said to stand for *senatus populusque.* Fabri.—*tot annorum silentio;* the treaty with Hasdrubal was made thirteen years after the end of the First Punic war, and therefore between eight and nine before the Second Punic war.—*tantum ne=modo ne.*—*Bargusios,* a tribe dwelling in the north-east of Spain, not far from the Pyrenees. Near them probably dwelt the *Volciani.*

xx. The Romans fail in attaching the Gauls to their cause.—*in iis* refers to "the Gauls" implied in "*Galliam.*"—*nova terribilisque species;* and yet it was once the custom in Rome too. See Livy, i. 44.—*censere* seems here equivalent to *jubere* or the Greek ἀξιοῦν.—*gentis suæ homines,* the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul.—*Massiliam,* the modern Marseilles. This being a Greek colony, and often at variance with its Celtic neighbours, would naturally incline to Rome.—*præoccupatos jam ante.* Of this form of pleonasm Livy is very fond. So in c. 32, "prius præcepta res erat."

xxi. Hannibal prepares for the campaign in Italy.—*reliquis* is equivalent to *reliquiis.*—*credo ego vos,* &c. This speech is invented for Hannibal.—*hæc gentes = hæ gentes.* The demonstrative particle *ce* or *c* for *ecce* can be added to those parts of *hic* which ordinarily are without them. Thus *hi* becomes *hice; hæ* becomes *hæce* or *hæc.*—*aliis gentibus;* this is the first hint Hannibal gives to his soldiers, and that not a distinct one, that the war is to be transferred into other countries.—*commeatum,* "leave of absence."—*vere primo,* "in the early spring" of the year 536.—*Gades,* now *Cadiz,* a colony, founded before the historic period by the Phœnicians, but reduced by Hamilcar under the rule of Carthage.—*Herculi.* The Phœnician Hercules was worshipped under the name of Melcart, in all the Phœnician cities and their colonies. Judging from the little that is known of him, we may assume that his worship was the worship of brute power, not of any moral quality. The Assyrian Hercules was, as may be seen from the sculptures, a god of the same kind, one who could strangle lions with a grasp or lash them to death. The Father of Gods and men, whose home was in the Capitol, was a nobler God than that, and the offspring of the aspirations of a nobler nation.—*ab Siciliâ,* "on the side of Sicily." *ut Afri in Hispaniâ, in Africâ Hispani,* &c. This diabolical recipe for keeping up a "strong government" in an empire composed of heterogeneous elements has often been practised since Hannibal's time. The Romans saw its merits and applied it extensively in after times. Austria and Russia are its great admirers now. In the former kingdom, for instance, Slavonic and Hungarian and Croat regiments keep down Germans and Italians; and Germans and Italians, returning hate for hate, keep down Slaves, Hungarians, and Croats; and so all goes well, as it is supposed. The same policy is practised in Russia, with the same present success. But power built on the principle of division cannot last.—*cætratos;* "cætra scutum loreum quo utuntur Afri et Hispani."—*Baliares,* the Balearic Isles, the principal of which are Majorca and Minorca. The inhabitants

were celebrated as slingers, and as such served first in the Carthaginian and afterwards in the Roman armies. The name is of Iberian origin, and has no connection with the Greek verb *βάλλειν*.—The numbers of Hannibal's forces given in this chapter are authentic; for they are copied by Livy from Polybius, who got them at Lacinium from a brazen tablet engraved by the orders of Hannibal himself. iii. 33. *ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὑρόντες ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἐν χαλκώματι κατατεταγμένην ὑπ' Ἀννίβου, κ.τ.λ.*

xxii. Hannibal's preparations and vision.—*atque id eo haud minus*, "and not less did he think so on this account . . ." There is no need for omitting *haud*, as some commentators have done.—*Liguribus*. This was in spite of their recent defeats by Q. Fabius Maximus. But they had been in the habit of acting as mercenaries for Carthage. See Pol. i. 17.—*Baliaribus quingentis;* the number is not to be found in the manuscripts of Livy. It has been added from Polybius, iii. 33.—*Libyphœnices*, a mixed race that sprang from the intermixture of the Phœnician settlers with the native races. Like the half-bred races of America in their intermixture of blood, they were unlike them in having freedom and the right of intermarriage with the Carthaginians.—*Numidæ*, derived from the Greek *νομάδες*, is the common name given by the Romans to the various nomadic tribes inhabiting those highlands of Africa, on the shores of the Mediterranean, which lay between the river Ampsaga and the territory of Carthage. This country answers in great measure to the French province of Algeria; and the Kabyles of the present day still retain the characteristic features attributed to the Numidae by ancient writers. —*Mauri*, the people of Mauretania, which, now answering to part of Algeria, and to Fez and Morocco, comprehended the highlands of Africa, on the Mediterranean, lying between the river Ampsaga and the Atlantic.—*Ilergetum*, a Spanish tribe situated between the Ebro, the Segre, and the Pyrenees.—*ducenti;* according to Polybius, *three* hundred.—*Etovissam*, conjectured to be the modern *Oropesa*, a town on the coast, nearly half-way between Murviedro and the Ebro.—*inde profectus maritumam oram ducit*, "having set out from New Carthage, he leads his army past the city Etovissa to the Ebro, along the sea coast." Some editors have appended *que* to *maritumam*, in order to get over the difficulty of construction in *maritumam oram*. But as New Carthage, from which Hannibal started was on the sea coast, he could not lead his army *to* the sea coast. *Maritumam oram* must be considered the accusative of cognate signification, just as we talk of "*leading* a man *some way, a great way*," &c. See Alschefski's note on the passage. —*in quiete* = *in somnis*. For a more deeply coloured account of this Dream, see Cicero, Div. i. 24.—*cura ingenii humani*, "with that apprehension of evil consequences so natural to," or "with the curiosity so innate in, the human mind." For the latter meaning see Livy, xlii. 39. Inerat cura insita mortalibus videndi . . . ."—*molcs*, "monster."

xxiii. Hannibal subdues Spain up to the Pyrenees.—*Hoc visu lætus* . . . . Earlier writers tell how a real objective spirit led the way for Hannibal. Livy turns it into a dream. His poetic mind evidently revels in this vision and its effects on Hannibal. The sceptical Polybius, on the contrary, iii. 47, most characteristically sneers at the whole story, and coldly adds that it is unnecessary to introduce the supernatural to account for the natural. The two passages are very curious as evidencing the difference of bias in the two historians.—*Bargusios;* (c. 19) "this tribe received the Roman ambassadors favourably, and therefore were to be, according to Hannibal's orders, used more harshly than the rest by Hanno." Polyb. iii. 35.—*Ausetanos et Lacetaniam:* the Ausetani and Lacetani lay between the Segre, the Pyrenees,

and the Mediterranean. *Lacetaniam*, however, is a conjecture. The manuscripts have *Aquitaniam*, which may refer to some Spanish tract so called, but cannot of course refer to the Gallic Aquitania. Indeed Strabo, iii. 4, calls the part of Spain in question 'Ιακκητανία.—*Saltum*, "the pass."—*rumor certior;* if Hannibal's soldiers did not know his designs, we may be sure that the Romans did not know them so early as Livy makes out they did.—*Alpium transitu.* They could not yet have known he was going to cross the Alps.—"*et ipse*," he also as well as others. It does not seem necessary to conjecture "*et ipsos.*"

XXIV. Hannibal enters Gaul.—*reliquis copiis.* He crossed the Ebro, according to Polybius, iii. 35, with 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse. He left 10,000 foot and 1000 horse with Hanno, and sent home a similar number. In subduing the tribes between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, he lost 20,000 foot and 1000 horse. He therefore had now 50,000 foot and 9000 horse. Of these when he had crossed the Rhone he had 38,000 foot and rather more than 8000 horse left; and having lost nearly half these in crossing the Alps, he succeeded in bringing 20,000 foot and 6000 horse into Italy. Such is the terrible waste of war.—See Ruperti, p. 757.—*Illiberri*, now Elne, a small town close to the Pyrenees, on the French side. The word, as retaining its foreign ending, is here undeclinable. Further on it is declinable, because it has a Greek termination appended to it.—*Ruscinonem*, now "La Tour de Roussillon," not far from the modern Perpignan. From this town is derived the name of the province Roussillon.—*hæc*, i. e. *dixit.*

XXV. The Cisalpine Gauls revolt.—*Placentiam Cremonamque colonias.* The colonies of the Romans were for the purpose of establishing a recently acquired dominion on a firm basis, and therefore resembled the French military colonies in Algeria rather than those sent out from this country. Six thousand men were sent to Placentia, now Piacenza, on the right bank, and a like number to Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, for the express purpose of completing the subjugation of the Gauls, and preventing their helping Hannibal, if he should come that way, or creating a diversion in his favour, should he appear in any other direction.—*in eum ipsum agrum*, the land, that is, which had been divided among the colonists by the three commissioners (*triumviri*), sent with them from Rome for that purpose.—*Id quoque dubium est* . . . A second doubt intrudes itself, which may help to explain the first. Were these Romans who were maltreated by the Boii ambassadors sent to them to expostulate with them about their revolt, or were they triumvirs who were busied in dividing the land among the colonists? Possibly the confusion of names may arise from the fact that ambassadors were sent to demand the deliverance of the triumvirs, and the names of the triumvirs and ambassadors were subsequently mixed up together.—*effusum*, "not in regular marching order."—*plerisque incultis*, "most of the country being uncultivated."—*præcipitatus* is not a participle, but an aorist, coupled with the aorist *emersit.* The auxiliary *est*, therefore, is, as often in Livy, understood. So Virgil, Æn. vi. 547: "Tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.—*quingentos.* This is from conjecture. One manuscript has *C*, which does not agree very well with the words *multa cum cæde.—Tannetum* lies between Parma and Modena.—*contendere* is indicative not infinitive.—*ad tempus*, for the time.—*Commeatibus fluminis*, "supplies from the river."—*Brixianorum Gallorum*, the Gauls of Brixia, now Brescia, in the country of the Cenomani.

XXVI. Hannibal arrives at the Rhone.—*Saluvium.* The *Saluvii* or

Salyes, were a Ligurian race, inhabiting the coast region of the Mediterranean between Antibes and the Rhone.—*vixdum credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes.* The Romans never expected that Hannibal could subdue the free and warlike nations between the Ebro and the Pyrenees before Scipio's arrival in Spain. But Hannibal feeling how important it was not to leave the Romans the opportunity of getting a footing there, had made short work of it, though, because he had to do so, his losses were greatly increased.—*Volcarum.* The Volcæ Tectosages and Volcæ Arecomici stretched along the coast continuously, with the exception of the small territory belonging to the Sordones, from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, so that it is not easy to discover what tribes Livy means by *ceteris pacatis.—colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani.* This seems to be a mistake of Livy's. They did not dwell on the east bank of the Rhone.—*eorum ipsorum*, i.e. *Volcarum.—et ipsi . . . cupiebant.* The Gauls on the east bank had to supply the half-starved army with necessaries, and would therefore be glad to get rid of them as soon as possible. Those on the other bank would have the same reason for disapproving of their passage.—*novasque alias*, i.e. *lintres*, not *naves.*

xxvii. Hannibal begins the passage of the Rhone.—*equite* "horse and *foot.*"—*adverso flumine*, "up the stream," *parvæ insulæ.* If the place where Hannibal crossed the Rhone was, as seems to have been the case, a little above Roquemaure, the "small island" here spoken of would be near the Pont St. Esprit, which is about 25 miles above Roquemaure.—*materia* "wood" connected probably with *madeo*, as our *wood* is with *wet.—mole*, "difficulty."—*utres.* It is interesting to see the same practice exemplified in the Assyrian sculptures.—*ex loco prodito fumo.—prodito* can be taken either with *loco* or with *fumo.* In the former mean it would mean "high," in the latter "having been raised as a signal."—*eques . . . navium agmen . . . transmittens*, "higher up, the cavalry, mostly near their horses, which were swimming in the river, took over a line of ships to break the force of the stream, and so . . ."

xxviii. The crossing concluded.—*nautarum, militum.* The omission of *et* is owing to the liveliness and hurry shadowed forth in the narrative. —*ultroque vim facere conati* possibly may, as Alschefski says, be equivalent to *qui* vel *ultro vim facere conati* fuerant, "they who had ventured to attack the enemy even before they had been attacked by him." But the reading of some of the manuscripts, *utroque*, seems the better one.—*variata = varie exposita.—ut quemque—rapiente*, "the force of the stream itself carrying them off one by one to the other bank, as each, though afraid of the deep water, lost his footing."—*cum . . . acti.* Supply *sunt* after *acti*, making it, not the participle, but the aorist indicative. The verb substantive occurs so soon after, though under a different government, that it may have seemed unnecessary to put it in both clauses.—*repetiti = et ipsi petiti.—ceteris*, "everything that was before connected with it."—*altum, the river.* It is generally applied only to the sea. Here, of course, it is used to give the notion of vastness and depth.—*pondere ipso stabiles.* Livy, like Polybius iii. 46, supposed that the elephants sank to the bottom of the river, and there, steadied by their immense weight, and making their trunks, which always managed to keep partly above water, serve the double purpose of taking in air and discharging the water that had been swallowed, at last struggled against the current straight to the other side of the stream.

xxix. The first engagement in the war. *Dum trajiciuntur—miserat. Dum* takes a present indicative, in order to give an air of liveliness to the

narrative, even when dependent on a past tense. —*alæ*, so called, because the Numidians stood in the same relation to the Carthaginians, that the Roman allies stood to the Romans themselves; and as the Roman allies were drawn up on the two wings, their contingents were called *alæ*.—*principium simul omenque belli.* So Scott in the "Lady of the Lake," Canto iv.

> Which spills the foremost foeman's life,
> That party conquers in the strife.

It may be worth while here, at the mention of the first contest in this death-struggle, to call to mind that it was no mere chance that enabled Rome ultimately to triumph. She conquered because she deserved to conquer. The triumph of Carthage over Rome would have been a triumph over the welfare of the human race; for her citizens worshipped not glory, but gold; they were not animated by the love of country, or a respect for law and order, as the Romans were. They were selfish, gloomy, morose, cowardly, implacable, inordinately fond of creature-comforts, and jealous of extending political privileges to others. On the other hand, the Romans, in the heroic age of their country, which was not yet past, were not unwilling to extend the franchise, cared but little for sensual indulgence, were brave, open, and cheerful, and were willing to sacrifice themselves, and all belonging to them, for their country. Hence their triumph and subsequent dominion were a benefit to humanity. They diffused among their subjects that love of order, that respect for law, that knowledge of the art of government, that sense of the meaning and objects of political coherence, which it was so important that men should know.—*summæ rerum* "the war taken as a whole."—*ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt.* So Cic. pro Sext. 68. *Hunc sui cives e civitate ejecerunt.—nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi,* "and Scipio could form no settled plan except."—*Rem fama . . . horrendum* = "rem arduam per se, sed præsertim, si quis eam ex fama tantum noverit, nunquam expertus, horrendam." Crev.

XXX. Hannibal encourages his soldiers to attempt the passage of the Alps.—*pergere ire.* So. c. 22, sub fin.: "*pergeret porro ire.*"—*quicumque . . . obsedissent.* This is not true. Hannibal, not his army, was demanded by the Romans.—*orbem terrarum.* Of course Hannibal, never could have used such an expression, because the Romans had not then subdued the world. The question who should rule was then to be decided, though neither of the parties engaged could have been aware of it. It is hardly necessary to remark that the speeches inserted by Livy and other ancient writers into their histories, are not to be understood as having ever been really spoken by those into whose mouths they are put, but as what, according to the historian's view, might have been spoken under the given circumstances. We must therefore judge them by their dramatic fitness. If they bring the scene and actors vividly before us, and disclose to us the hidden springs and machinery by which the action of the period was sustained and directed, they are to be looked on as valuable means of arriving at an intelligent appreciation of history.—*Italiæ* is the partitive gentive.—*nec* here = *nec ullas.—pervias paucis esse: et exercitibus?* The *et* has been added from conjecture, but may easily have slipped out between *esse* and *exercitibus*, as it is often written *e* instead of *et* in the manuscripts, and as it has here an *e* on each side of it. If the note of interrogation be retained, the sentence is very abrupt. Its general meaning would be "The Alps can be penetrated by small bodies of travellers, who can do little to assist each other in smoothing the asperities of the road.

Must they not, then, *a fortiori*, be penetrable by armies, whose united powers could destroy any impediment?" I should prefer however to substitute a full stop for the note of interrogation, and translate "that the Alps were penetrable both for small parties and armies."—*legatos*, ambassadors from the Boii.—*sublime elatos*. So Virgil, G. iii. 108. "Jamque humiles, jamque elati sublime videntur—Aera per vacuum ferri"—*ac* is here used to attract attention to *conjugibus*, because it is here placed after *liberis*, the common formula being *conjugibus liberisque*.—*migrantium modo*, "carrying, as emigrants are wont to do, all their baggage with them."—*caput orbis terrarum*. Livy cannot get out of his head his notion of Rome as she was in his time.—*cederent* is the subjunctive in the *oratio obliqua* for the imperative in the *oratio recta*. — *spernunt* is put in the *present tense* to show the difference between his objurgatory proposal, and his real wish.—*campum*—"the Campus Martius."

xxxi. Hannibal marches to the foot of the Alps.—*adversa ripa*, "along the bank, up the stream."—*rectior via*. The nearest road would have led to the Maritime, or to the Cottian Alps.—*esset* is in the subjunctive after *non quia*, because the reason mentioned is not the true reason. The true reason, according to Livy's view, was that Hannibal wished to avoid a combat with Scipio.—*quartis castris*, "after four days' march."—*Isara, the Isere*. The old reading Arar (*the Saone*), is inadmissible because it could not, and the Isara could, be reached in four days' march.—*diversis ex Alpibus*. The Rhone flows from the Pennine, the Isere from the Graian Alps; the Saone, on the contrary, does not come from the Alps at all.—*incolunt prope Allobroges*. The Allobroges lived not *near*, but *in* the *insula*; but it did not suit Livy to say so. With the same view he says *ad* not *in insulam*, "*to*, not *into*, *the island*." From this point Livy's account of Hannibal's movements is perplexing and self-contradictory. He copies from Polybius largely, who makes Hannibal lead his army over the Little St. Bernard. He ornaments Polybius' plain statement with romantic and impossible details from less trustworthy writers, and then transfers the scene to the pass of Mont Genevre. The result, of course, is by no means satisfactory. Polybius' statement will not fit Mont Genevre, to which it was never meant to apply.—*pellebatur*, "was being driven out."—*quod* refers generally to everything denoted by *copia rerum omnium*.—*non recta regione* . . . Livy means to insinuate that after Hannibal had distanced Scipio and the Roman army, he turned back again to resume the route he had originally intended to follow. Of course, if Hannibal had ever intended to go by Mont Genevre, he would have crossed the Rhone near Avignon, and marched securely along the left bank of the Durance, which in that part of its course, and not, as Livy says, in the higher part, is a very turbulent, and therefore easily guarded stream. Livy's whole account is a fiction.—*ad lævum*, "to the left," not of Hannibal, but of Livy, writing in Italy.—*Tricastinos*. This tribe lived in the country through which Hannibal had already passed in his four days' march to the island. The *Vocontii* were situated on the Drome, to the east of the *Tricastini*, and the *Tricorii* on the Drac, rather to the north-east of the *Vocontii*.—*haud usquam impedita via*. This is a very good description of the *Insula*, the land at the junction of the Rhone and the Isere, to which Polybius, from whom Livy borrows it, has applied it; but it is a most absurd description of the high mountain land about the sources of the Drome, the Drac, and the Durance.—*Alpinus amnis*, from the Cottian Alps.—*difficillimus*, to agree with *amnis*, not *difficillimum* to agree with *flumen* understood. This is the usual, though not the most obvious construction.

See Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp., § 168.—*nova semper vada novosque gurgites . . . volvens.* "Et vada volvere et gurgites bene dicitur amnis, qui volvendo arenas facit vada hac, illac gurgites." Crev.—*saxa, glarcosa,* "rocks *and* gravel." All this description, though considerably exaggerated, applies to the Durance only in the latter part of its course, from its junction with the Bleaune till it reaches the Rhone.

xxxii. Scipio sends his brother with an army to Spain and returns by sea to Italy to meet Hannibal emerging from the Alps.—*quadrato agmine,* "with his army drawn up in order of battle."—*repetit Genuam,* "quod Ligurum emporium" says Ruperti "forte adpulerat, quum oram Ligurum præternavigaret."—*campestri maxime itinere.* This, as has already been observed is altogether inapplicable to the country near the upper part of the valley of the Durance.—*montium altitudo nivesque, &c.* This fine description can only apply to the highest Alps, and therefore hardly even to Mont Genevre, the highest point to which Livy's description would refer; for it is not more than 6000 feet above the level of the sea.—*montani.* Livy, who is here copying from Polybius, does not mention that Polybius says that the mountaineers in question were the Allobroges, because that would militate against his surreptitious transference of the whole scene from the neighbourhood of the Mont du Chat to that of Mont Genevre. *Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis.* See Polybius iii. 50. *προέπεμψε δέ τινας τῶν καθηγουμένων αὐτοῖς Γαλατῶν χάριν τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπίνοιαν.*

xxxiii. Successful issue of the contest with the mountaineers.—*via,* by the path which led up the pass.—*arce sua,* their advantageous position on the heights—*perversis rupibus,* "along the rough rocks."—*invia ac devia* are in the acc.: after either *adsueti* or *decurrunt.* See Virgil vi. 833. "Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella," and Catullus lxiv. 6. "Ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi."—*tendenti.* This is a rare form for the ablative, especially the ablative absolute.—*castellum* probably on the site of the modern town of *Bourget,* near *Chamberri.*—Polybius (iii. 51.) calls it *τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὁρμὴν οἱ πολέμιοι.* of Livy had any distinct notion on the subject, he must have fixed his *castellum* somewhere near Briançon.—*captivo ac pecoribus,* "the booty and especially the cattle." So *rapto captove vivere.*—*montanis,* though it represents the agent, is not preceded by the preposition *a,* in order to assimilate its construction to *loco* to which it is joined by the conjunction *nec.*—*primo* is here pretty nearly equivalent to *primo impetu.*—*aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.* This is borrowed from Polybius iii. 52. The application there is obvious. Hannibal took three days in getting from Bourget by Chamberri to the valley of the Isere, and up that to the country of the Centrones, the modern Tarentaise. This is a good three days' journey. But what kind of good three days' journey Hannibal could have taken if he had found himself, where Livy places him, looking at Mont Genevre, without attempting to ascend it, it is not very easy to discover.

xxxiv. Combat with a second mountain tribe.—*alium populum,* according to Polybius, the tribe of the Centrones, inhabiting the modern district of Tarentaise. It is impossible to fix on any particular tribe from Livy's account. The Caturiges dwelt in that part of France in which he seems desirous of placing Hannibal.—*suis artibus,* "arts of which *he* generally claimed the monopoly."—*omnia* is governed by *circumspectans; sollicitusque* being inserted as adverbially qualifying *circumspectans,* "anxiously examining." *in eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit*

quin . . . is a short way of saying "quum in eos versa esset peditum acies, tam acriter a montanis pugnatum est, ut necesse fuerit . . ."—*fuerit* is here the aorist put for the past perfect, a construction which Livy, as has already been said, often used. Without *ut* it would have been *fuit.*—*demittere agmen*, "to lead down his troops," that is the heavy infantry, into the defile.—*interrupto medio agmine*, "the middle of the line having been broken by Hannibal's irresolution," Polybius says nothing of this. He makes Hannibal occupy τι λευκόπετρον ὄχυρον, which commanded the pass to enable the cavalry and baggage to get safely through; but he does not lay the blame on Hannibal's want of presence of mind. That is probably a touch put in by Livy himself. There is a white rock in the Little St. Bernard pass, now called "La Roche Blanche," which commands the whole of that part of the pass where the combat seems to have taken place.

XXXV. The summit of the Pass is gained.—*elephanti, sicut* . . . *præcedebant*, "though the elephants were driven over the precipitous and narrow roads not without great delay and toil, yet wherever they went, the army proceeded on its march without molestation from the enemy, because . . ." i. e. *agmen*, not *elephanti*, is the nominative to *præcedebant*. The reading *præbebant*, however, which retains the same substantive as subject to all the verbs, seems preferable.—*Nono die.* So Polybius, iii. 53; Ἐννεταῖος δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσέμεινε." According to him the nine days' march is to be reckoned from Bourget in the neighbourhood of Chamberri; and the *jugum Alpium* is the summit of the Little St. Bernard Pass, there being a plateau there about two miles and a half in length, well fitted for the encampment of a large army.—*per invia plerasque et errores quos ducentium fraus*, &c. Polybius says nothing of either treachery on the part of Hannibal's guides, or errors brought on by their ignorance. In fact both suppositions are inadmissible. For "the guides had been sent to meet Hannibal by the Insubres, a nation in frequent intercourse with Transalpine Gaul, their original country. The Insubres had found their way to Carthago Nova, in Spain, and the guides they had selected were not likely to mistake the safest road into Italy. Hannibal was in alliance with the Allobroges as well as with the Insubres, and a prince of the Cisalpine Gauls was with the guides." Journal of Royal Geog. Soc. xxv. p. 184. Livy however introduces the notion of fraud or ignorance on the part of the guides, to account for Hannibal's having passed over so little ground during the nine days of which he speaks—*in jugo*, on the summit of the Mont Genevre pass, according to Livy.—*occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum*, "it being just about the time for the setting of the constellation of the Pleiades." This would be about the 26th of October. Snow begins to fall on the Little St. Bernard in September, and the inhabitants consider that the winter sets in about Michaelmas. On the pass of Mont Genevre, however, which is considerably lower, the snow of course would not fall quite so early.—*promuntorio.* So the best manuscripts, says Alschefski, spell the word; and he accordingly derives it from *prominere*, a derivation which it is impossible to receive. The true derivation is no doubt from *pro, mont*, the crude form of *mons*, and the termination *orium.*—*Italiam ostentat subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos.* This of course is only to be taken in a very modified sense. From no known part of the Alps could a good view of the basin of the Po be obtained, and of course still less what Polybius, strangely enough, adds to the prospect, "τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῆς τόπον." The French critics, however, in order

not to sacrifice this dramatic situation, have not hesitated to make Hannibal and his whole army mount up to the summit of Monte Viso, a feat, as Cramer remarks, only second to taking an army up to the top of Mont Blanc.—*cetera plana, proclivia fore;* Polybius says, because the Gauls below, that is the *Insubres*, &c., were, as we have already seen, well disposed towards them. But Livy, who intends to bring Hannibal out among the *Taurini*, a Ligurian and hostile race, is obliged to leave that remark out.—*summo* is an adverb like the commoner *summum.*—*ab Italia*, "on the side of Italy."—*arrectiora.* Any one who has travelled over any of the passes of the Alps can corroborate the correctness of Livy's description of the greater steepness of the Alps on the Italian side.

xxxvi. The difficulties of the descent.—*rupes* is the whole cliff, *saxa* the rocks that compose it.—*lapsu terræ.* On the descent of the pass of the Little St. Bernard, after leaving La Tuile, the road contracts, and enters a narrow passage between two rocks. The old road used constantly to be carried away to the extent of about 300 yards in length by avalanches, descending from Mount Cramont, the *Cremonis jugum* of Livy, which we shall meet with further on; and to avoid this a new road has been built.—*in pedum mille admodum altitudinem*, "to the depth of about a thousand foot."—*altitudinem.* This is a curious mistake of Livy's. Polybius says that the road has been destroyed for the *length* of one stadium and a half, that is about 300 yards. Livy understands him to refer to the *height* of the precipice formed, and not to the *length* of the road swept away. "By this alteration," says Cramer, "the operation which Hannibal's soldiers had to perform, and which is so naturally stated in the Greek historian, in Livy becomes absurd and unintelligible." In fact, that from any ordinary cause a precipice a thousand feet deep should be formed on the sloping side of a mountain where a road had wound before, is all but incredible—*digressus = digressus est.—ea vero via insuperabilis fuit*, "that way however, the way, namely, over the hitherto untravelled and pathless regions around, turned out to be impracticable."—*per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem*, "over the bare ice beneath, and the fluid slush of the melting snow."—*Tetra luctatio*, "a terrible struggle."—*ut a lubrica glacie*, "as might be expected in consequence of (*or* seeing that it was) a struggle to get free from) the ice, which was so slippery that it gave no hold to the step, and because (abl. abs.) the foot slipped away so much the more readily on account of the steep inclination of the descent."—*ad quas* "(by propping himself) against which."—*ipsis adminiculis* refers to "the hands and knees" just mentioned.—*Jumenta—nivem.* "Sometimes however, while treading on the lowest snow (that is, the snow of the former winter, which the action of the subsequent summer had turned into ice) they penetrated even that."—*in connitendo*, "in struggling to get up."—*perfringebant*, "they broke right through."—*concreta* gives a better sense if taken with *jumenta;* "fast frozen in (*or* of one piece with) the hard and deep ice." The whole of this beautiful description shows Livy's powers as a poet to great advantage.

xxxvii. The last part of the passage.—*Tandem*, &c., "His verbis Livius ad id, unde in priore cap. deverterat, redit."—*ad rupem muniendam*, "*to make the cliff passable*," that cliff, namely, mentioned in the beginning of c. 36.—*arboribus circa inmanibus.* Where did Hannibal get the trees from? They were, according to Livy, in the region of perpetual ice and snow, where trees are not to be found, as indeed he says afterwards in this very chapter.—*dejectis detruncatisque*, "having been felled and having had their branches lopped off."—*aceto putrefaciunt.* The

account of Livy, says Niebuhr, very justly, "that Hannibal broke the rocks by means of vinegar, is one of those tales which we grieve to see related seriously by an intelligent man." The road had been destroyed for 300 yards by an avalanche, and Hannibal had to repair it by substructions of pine logs and other means, such as are familiar to travellers in Switzerland and other mountain-regions. Livy, by supposing Polybius to mean *height*, when he meant *breadth*, and by his willingness to receive all the marvels that Cœlius Antipater and others had collected, has made a monstrous and impossible tale of Polybius's simple and intelligible statement. Yet Livy's marvellous account is the more popular. See Juvenal, x. 153.—Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto. Pliny, xxiii. 1, says: "acetum saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens." It is true indeed that, if great heat be applied to rocks, especially to limestone, and then a cold fluid be applied to them, they will split, and also that vinegar will decompose limestone. But to operate in this manner on a rock 1000 feet deep would be a labour of many months, not of four days. To say with Ernesti "Acetum fuit potus militaris. Inde non mirum, quomodo id Carthaginiensibus, tantaque ejus copia, ad manus fuerit," is to get over only the smallest part of the difficulty; though it must be remembered that an army which had lost almost all its baggage by the attacks of the mountaineers, and was actually starving for want of food, would not be likely to have preserved such abundance of this *acetum*, a luxury, and not a necessity, in regions where water was so plentiful.—*molliunique anfractibus modicis.* "and make the descent practicable by cutting zig-zags on the face of the cliff," as has been done, for instance, in the famous Gemmi Pass, in Switzerland. —*inferiora.* "sunt radices Alpium." "Τὰ δ' ὑπὸ μέσην τὴν παρώρειαν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μερῶν, ὑλοφόρα καὶ δενδροφόρα, καὶ τὸ ὅλον οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν." Polyb. iii. 55.—*aprico* is followed by a gap in the MSS. It might, therefore, be better to read *apricosque.*

xxxviii. Hannibal arrives in Italy—Livy's remarks on his route, &c.—*maxime,* "in the main."—*quinto mense.* So Polybius, iii. 56., "τέλος δὲ, τὴν μὲν πᾶσαν πορείαν ἐκ Καινῆς πόλεως ἐν πέντε μησὶ ποιησάμενος, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολὴν ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα."—*quinto decimo die.* So says Polybius, from whom Livy copies. But Livy makes the number of days nineteen. Nine days are spent in reaching the summit; the army rests there two days; it marches through the snow one day; it is detained four days making a road for itself, and takes three days descending into the plain.—*qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum.* "Ita memorat Polybius, qui quidem ecse id didicisse testatur ex æreâ tabula Lacinii ab ipso Hannibale inscripta et incisa." Crev. See Polyb. iii. 56.—*moveret,* i.e., *me moveret. L. Cincius Alimentus* wrote, among other works, a history in Greek of the history of Rome, from its commencement to his own times. He was Prætor in Sicily a few years after the battle of Cannæ.—*adducta* is governed in the infinitive mood by some such word as *scribens* understood in *auctor moveret.* — *Taurinis.* The Taurini were a Ligurian tribe, occupying the country between the Cottian Alps and Turin. "Hoc loco dictum videmus triginta sex millia Hannibalem amisisse ab eo tempore quo Rhodanum transierit, ad id tempus, quo e Taurinis in Italiam ipsam digressus sit."—*Italiam.* Piedmont and Lombardy, it must be remembered, were not part of Italy at that time.—*Id cum inter omnes constet,* namely, "that the Taurini are the nearest tribe to Gaul." —*Pœnino.* The Pennine range extends from Mont Blanc to Monte Rosa. It was probably so called from the Celtic word *Pen,* or *Ben,* a height,

which occurs in the names of so many Scotch mountains. The spelling *Pœnino* arose from the notion that Hannibal crossed the Great St. Bernard, and that the name was derived from *Pœnus, a Carthaginian.* This, however, is the least possible pass of all to fix upon.—*Cremonis jugum*, now called *Cramont*, is a mountain overhanging the pass of the Little Saint Bernard, and just south of Mont Blanc, from which it is divided by the vale of the Allée Blanche. This opinion of Cœlius's is the one adopted by Polybius, and seems to be the true one. It is the easiest of all the passes from France into Italy, and the only one which almost throughout could support a large army, dependent mainly on the country through which it passed for supplies.—*non in Taurinos.* There is no difficulty in the fact of this pass not leading *in Taurinos*, but *per Salassos.* The Taurini were, as the event proved, fiercely hostile to Hannibal, and were, therefore, not the tribe for a prudent general to bring his emaciated and half-dead army among. The Salassi, or the people of the vale of Aosta, on the contrary, though of predatory habits, had probably been bribed over by the Insubres to allow Hannibal to pass through their territories in peace, and were no doubt kept to their promise by the knowledge that they might be attacked in front and rear at once by Hannibal and his allies, if they attempted violence.—*Libuos Gallos*, a tribe dwelling in the country near the modern *Vercelli*, a part of whose territory possibly Hannibal would have had to traverse to get from Aosta to Milan, the capital of the Insubres.—*deduxerint* is a politer form of expressing the author's opinion than *deduxissent*, which some editors have. So xxx. 3: "*Hæc per nuntios acta magis equidem crediderim . . .*" See Arnold's Lat. Comp. 417 (*d*). Opposed to this courteousness of form in stating an opinion is the strong expression *verissimum est*, in the earlier part of the chapter.—*nec verisimile est*, &c. The pass of the Great Saint Bernard was probably not open at that time, though Livy himself supposes that the Boii and Lingones came by that road into Italy. At any rate its difficulty and distance put Hannibal's passage by it out of the question. The passage of Mont Genevre, to which Livy gives the preference, was first explored by Pompey. The pass of Mont Cenis was not heard of till the middle ages.—*ad Galliam* is here used, where we might expect *e Gallia*, because Augustus first made a road through the territory of the Salassi *into* Gaul.—*semigermanis* does not occur elsewhere.—*Seduni, Veragri*, the people of *Sion*, and of *Martigny*, both on the valley of the Upper Rhone in the Vallais.—*ab eo*, "from that God."—*Pœninum.* The God more probably got his name from the mountain on which he was worshipped, than the mountain from the God. He was afterwards worshipped by the Romans as Jupiter Penninus.

xxxix. Hannibal and Scipio approach each other.—*armare*, "to prepare for battle."—*Pisas*, now Pisa, in Tuscany.—*Manlio Atilioque.* See chapters xxv. and xxvi.—*in novis ignominiis* i. e., the defeat they had sustained from the Gauls.—*quum . . . venit.* The indicative is here used, because merely a coincidence of time is meant, and all notion of causation is out of the question. Time and causation, however, are so often connected that the subjunctive also would be allowable here. See Arnold's Lat. Comp. 488 (*a*)—*Placentiam.* See c. xxv.—*unam urbem*, probably what was afterwards called Augusta Taurinorum, *i. e.* Turin.—*volentis*, i. e. *Hannibalis.* Most editors have *volentes.*—*præstantem virum credebat.* Very probably Hannibal *did* think that the Romans had chosen their best general to conduct the war against him. But if he did, he was mistaken. The Romans were as great lovers of routine as the English,

and had chosen exactly the same men for consuls whom they would have chosen if no war had threatened. It was by steady endurance and bulldog tenacity of purpose that they always conquered in the long run. The beginnings of their great wars were seldom creditable to them, as the beginnings of ours are seldom creditable to us.—*inter se opinionem*, "their respect for each other."—*fuerat* = *factus erat.*—*occupavit facere* = prius trajecit, *i. e.*, before Hannibal. So, in Greek, ἔφθασε διαβάς.

xl. Scipio's speech. This speech treats (1) of Scipio's recent connection with his army; (2) of the folly of fearing an enemy who have been so often defeated; (3) of the small number of the enemy's forces; (4) of their weakness through disease and suffering; (5) of the omen of ultimate success given by the result of the first skirmish; (6) of the improbability of Hannibal's being as formidable an adversary as Hamilcar was; (7) of the vengeance which the faithlessness and treachery of the Carthaginians call down upon their heads; and (8) of the importance of remembering that they are going to fight for their country, their wives, and their children.—*supersedissem loqui apud vos* is put short for *supersedissem loqui apud eum; sed quod non meum exercitum, sed vos educo, apud vos loqui volo.*—*vicissent* is in the subjunctive, because the clause to which it belongs states the reason why it would have been unnecessary to address Scipio's former soldiers. In the next clause merely the fact is brought before the hearers; and therefore *habui* is in the indicative.—*meis auspiciis.* The province of Spain had fallen to Scipio by lot. See c. xvii. As the commander of an army received the *auspices* together with the *imperium*, the war was said to be carried on under his *auspices*, and hence if his lieutenant gained a victory in his absence, the merit and the triumph were his, not the lieutenant's.—*nec genus belli. Nec* is here, as elsewhere in Livy, put for *et ne.* "And that you may not be ignorant of the kind of war," &c.—*voluntario* because he might have gone to Spain if he had chosen.—*viginti annos.* See Polybius i. 62. — *belli præmia.* This is a falsehood. See notes on ch. i. and xviii.—*duabus partibus . . . amissis* and *plures pæne perierint quam supersint* do not agree very well together. The latter, however, is the truer statement. Hannibal started from the Rhone with 38,000 foot and more than 8000 horse, and brought to the Po 20,000 foot and 6000 horse.—*At enim*, &c., "but (for some one will perhaps object that, though few, they are . . . . .) we answer . . . "—*præusti*, "frost-bitten," "having lost the fingers or toes through the cold."—*pugnaturi estis*, "you will *probably* have to fight with."—*habebitis*, "you will *certainly* have as an enemy." For the difference of meaning between these two futures, see Arnold's Lat. Com. 447 (*b*).

xli. Scipio's speech continued.—*vestri adhortandi causa. . . .* Just as *adhortandi* is in the genitive case, because it depends on *causa*, so *vestri* is in the genitive case, because it depends on the gerundial verbal substantive *adhortandi.* The literal translation, therefore, of the phrase is "for the sake of the exhorting of you."—*qua parte* refers to *equitum*, implied in *equestri.*—*neque regressus ad naves erat*, "and it became evident that Hannibal had no intention of returning to the sea-coast, and sailing to Italy by sea." *Regressus* is a substantive here.—*timendo* is, of course, ironical. —*Utrum . . . videor*, "do I seem to have fallen in with him unexpectedly, while avoiding the contest, or . . ."—*per viginti annos.* The space between the two wars was really 23 years.—*pugnaverint* is in the subjunctive after *iidem sint qui*, in the sense of *tales sint ut;* but *emisistis* under

the same government is in the indicative, to draw attention to its being an actual occurrence, and one to be gloated over; "whom you let out, after their long blockade in Eryx, at the rate of 18 denarii a man."—*Herculis.* Hercules was, as we have seen, the Phœnician deity, and Hannibal, as a religious man (see c. xxi), very probably wished to follow in his steps. There was a tradition that Hercules, after slaying Geryon, had crossed the Graian Alps: "quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur." Corn. Nep. Hann. iii.—*vectigalis stipendiariusque.* The *vectigalis* paid in kind; the *stipendiarius* in money. He who was both was, of course, *servus populi Romani.*—*agitaret.* So Silius Italicus, ii. 296: "Exagitant Manes juvenem furiæque paternæ."—*humanorum* = "*quo homines affici possunt.*" This part of the speech is, of course, exaggerated. The Romans were nearly as much exhausted as the Carthaginians.—*tutelæ nostræ duximus* "we considered them under our protection."—*domesticas curas,* "cares about his own home only."—*illius urbis,* "of that city," pointing in the direction of Rome.

xlii. Hannibal prepares his soldiers for battle by showing them how his mountain captives prefer even death to captivity.—*dejecta,* i. e., *in sitellam* probably. For this mode of casting lots see Smith's Dict. of Ant., under the word *situla.*—*in id.* "for that purpose.—*excideral.* So Homer, Il. vii. 182: "ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος κυνέης."—*cujusque* = *cujuscunque.* So *quæque,* in c. lvii.—*ejusdem conditionis,* i. e., among the prisoners.—*inter spectantes,* i. e., among the soldiers.

xliii. Hannibal's speech. This speech treats of (1) the only hope of the army's safety being in their bravery; (2), the greatness of the prize in view; (3), their own past deeds, and the rewards they deserve; (4), the imaginary nature of much of the danger apprehended; (5), the inferiority of the Roman army and general; (6), the advantage they themselves have in being the assailants; (7), the overweening pride of the Romans; (8), the necessity of either conquering or dying.—*Dum* is here admissible instead of *cum,* because the emphasis rests not on *dimisisset,* but on *adfectos.*—*Si quem animum,* &c. = "Si, quo animo spectavistis alienæ sortis exemplum, sive sortem captivorum vestrorum, eodem animo judicaveritis de fortuna vestra, et sic statueritis, vincendum vobis esse, aut bene moriendum, vicimus, milites." Crevier.—*claudunt.* Supply *effugium* from the succeeding clause, and translate "shut out all hope of escape;" *habentibus* is the dative, agreeing with *nobis,* understood.—*Satis adhuc,* "long enough."—*Lusitaniæ,* answering generally to Portugal, but extending further to the west, and not so far to the north.—*Celtiberiæ,* properly the central table-land of Spain, including part of Aragon and Burgos, and all Cuenca and Soria.—*emeritis stipendiis* = bello confecto.—*nec existimaritis.* In prohibitions, except in the case of law-language, the imperative is not employed. Instead of it, if the verb is in the second person, as here, the present perfect subjunctive is used; if the verb is in the third person, the present imperfect subjunctive is used. There is only one passage in Livy, according to Fabri, in which the imperative is used in a prohibition, iii. 2: "Erit copia pugnandi; ne timeto."—*populi regesque,* "free and monarchical states."—*perlevi momento* = "levissima impulsione, parvo molimine, facile."—*ignoranti,* abl.—*sed* is not followed by *etiam,* because it introduces something of more importance than what precedes.—*semestri* since the Ides of March; at which time, being the beginning of the old Roman year, the consuls used to enter on the duties of their office. At a later period the time was altered to the 1st of January.

xliv. Hannibal's speech continued.—*infrenatos,* i. e., the Numidians.

So Virgil, Æn. iv. 41: "Et Numidæ infreni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis." —*socios*, i. e., the Libyans and Libyphœnicians.—*vos omnes*. This, as has been already noticed, in c. xxx., was not true.—*quos non excedamus*, "which we may not transgress."—*ne transieris . . . Saguntinis!* is the haughty command of the Romans.—*ad Hiberum est Saguntum* is the reply of Hannibal. "Saguntum (that is, Saguntum *and* its territories) *ad* Hiberum est, non *trans* Hiberum; *i. e.* in ea Hispaniæ parte situm, quæ Carthaginiensum ditionis est."—*Ad* is used instead of *cis*, because *cis* could not be properly used by Hannibal, now that he was in Italy.—*nusquam . . . moveris* is the second command issued by the Romans, and "*parum est . . transcendes*" Hannibal's second reply.—*cessero*, supply *si*.—*transcendes autem dico*, "you *will* cross over, did I say?" = *respectum habent* = "*habent quo respiciant*."—*dubitabit*, "should waver," "incline to the Romans."

xlv. The Romans cross the Ticinus. Hannibal's soldiers are eager for battle.—*castellum*, "a redoubt," "a tête-de-pont."—*sociorum*, evidently here the Ligurian tribes, from the order to spare the Gauls that follows immediately after.—*Vico Tumulis*, a town "*in agro Vercellensi*," somewhere between the modern towns of *Ivrea* and *Biella*, to the north-west of *Vercelli*.—*inmunem*, "free from both *vectigal* and *stipendium* . . . *qui sociorum cives*, &c. If Hannibal meant what he said, he here hit on the great blot in the constitution of the Carthaginians. They never extended the franchise, and therefore never could rise beyond a certain limit in power. The Romans, on the other hand, owed all their greatness to the facility with which they had from time to time admitted new citizens to share their privileges. After the second Punic war they discontinued the generous and healthful practice, and declined in political power in consequence.—*Jovem*, probably Baal, the Phœnician Jove.—*velut diis auctoribus*, "as if the Gods had become securities for the fulfilment of the pledge."

xlvi. The skirmish between the Ticinus and the Po.—*apum*. See Pliny, xi, 18, 56: "Ubicunque ille (rex apum) consedit, ibi cunctarum castra sunt. Tunc ostenta faciunt privata ac publica, uva dependente in domibus templisve" . . . *Quibus*, i.e., *prodigiis*.—*procuratis*, "having been expiated by sacrifice."—*Romanos, sociorumque*. They formed the heavy, and the Gauls the light infantry.—*inter subsidia ad secundam aciem*, i.e., "to the second or third line, to be there received between the intervals which were always to be found between each separate *manipulus* of infantry, and *turma* of cavalry.—*primos*, because their position was now in the rear, and the Numidians had got round to them.—*cedendo* = *dum cedunt*.—*malim*. Livy always *did* prefer, not what was most probable, but what was most romantic, or most consonant with his notions of Roman dignity. In fact, Livy's whole work is a trumpet-call to rouse his countrymen to be what their fathers were. It is just possible that the hatred borne in after times to Scipio in consequence of his overbearing conduct, may have led Cœlius and others to deny him the glory of having saved his father; but it is far more likely that the fame he afterwards acquired, gained him the credit of an exploit which was really performed by a Ligurian slave.—*quod . . . obtinuit*. Though *obtinuit* is added on to the relative clause, it is, of course, only nominally dependent on it. So Cicero, De Or. ii., 10, 43: "quod et a Crasso tactum est, et ut audio, ille ipse Aristoteles . . . adjunxit."

xlvii. The Romans retreat.—*vasa*, "baggage" . . . *ab Ticino*. The Romans, as has been seen, had gone to the west of the Ticinus. Now they

had to recross it, and give it up as a line of defence.—*rate* is the bridge, when unloosed from what fastened it to the other bank.—*ut jam*, "even granting that."—*fuerint* is used to modify the positiveness of the assertion; just as *vix crediderim* is courteously used for *vix credo*.—*die unius*, of one day. The earlier writers often used this contracted form instead of the fuller form in *ei*, both for the genitive and dative.

xlviii.—The Romans and the Carthaginians move to the Trebia.—*tacito*, "without the usual signal to march."—*jactanti*, "jolting."—*revocatum ex Sicilia*. See c. li. Sempronius was recalled from Lilybæum the moment the Romans heard that Hannibal had succeeded in what they had, till then, deemed his mad project of crossing the Alps with an army of mercenary troops.—*anxius inopia*, Polybius (iii., 68,) says, with much more internal probability, that the Gauls in the vicinity, being devoted to his cause, furnished his army abundantly with necessaries.—*Clastidium*, now *Chiasteggio*, a few miles south-west of the junction of the Po and the Ticino.—*numerum = numerum modiûm*. *Numerus* is often used in a wider sense than our word *number*. See Cic. Phil. ii. 27, 66: "Maximus vini numerus fuit."—*nummis aureis*. The first Roman gold coinage was struck 547 A. U. C., or eleven years after the time of which Livy speaks. But he may be speaking of the sum given as equivalent to 400 aurei of his own time, when the *aureus* was (see Smith's Dict. of Ant.) equivalent to about £1 1*s*. 1½*d*., according to the present value of gold.

xlix. Preparations of the Romans in Sicily.—*Liparas*, the *town*, not the *island*. Hence the absence of the preposition before it. The group is still called The Lipari islands.—*insulam Vulcani, Hiera*, now *Vulcano*, south of *Lipari*.—*tenuerunt ad* ... i.e., *tenuerunt se ad*, "they stopped (themselves) near;" just as *tenere*, governing the acc. without a preposition, means *to arrive at*.—*Messanam in portum*, "to the port *of* Messana." The Latin idiom makes both words depend on the verb of motion. See Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp., § 316. So c. lxi.: "Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est."—*intenderent* is in the subjunctive of indirect narration for the imperative of direct narration.—*teneri* is governed by the notion of ordering to be found in *missi*. For a similar change of construction, of which, by the way, Livy is very fond, see iii., 32: "Placet *creari* Decemviros sine provocatione, et *ne quis* eo anno alius magistratus esset."—*ad*, "*in addition to*."—*socii navales*, "the sailors." These were chiefly slaves or freedmen, gathered from the citizens or from the maritime states of Italy.—*perque omnem oram*. After these words, supply *ut essent*, or take *qui* in the sense of *aliqui*. There is no authority for the *missi* or *missis*, which some editors insert at the end of the sentence, though the insertion of either would do away with the great harshness of construction in the sentence.—*simul*, "as soon as."—*tamen* is inserted resumptively to connect the verb with *simul itaque*.—*sublatis armamentis*, "with sails set." "*Armamenta* sunt antennæ, vela, mali, rudentes, remi et omne instrumentum nauticum." Ruperti.—*demendis armamentis*. "Dicuntur *demi armamenta*, cùm vela contrahuntur, mali inclinantur, antennæ componuntur." Drakenborch.

l. The Carthaginian fleet is defeated at Lilybæum.—*conserta esset*, "was grappled with," connected by means of the boarding-bridges, called *corvi*, with one of the Roman ships.—*perforata*. The great aim of the Carthaginians, as it used to be of the Athenians in the time of their naval power, was to strike the enemy's vessels amidships with the beaks of their vessels; and this through their superiority in manœuvring (*arte*) they had some chance of effecting. The Romans, on the contrary, like the

Spartans, trusting to main strength, tried to assimilate the naval battle as nearly as they could to a land-fight; and to facilitate this they invented the terrible *corvi*.—*ejus*, i.e., *pugnæ*.—*Messanai*, the old form of the genitive of the first declension.—*armatam*. A ship was said to be *armata*, when it had its masts and yards up.—*prætoriam navem*, "the flag-ship."—*ut quo* = *utpote quo*.—*ei quibusdam volentibus novas res fore*, "and *especially* because a change in political relations would be acceptable to some of them." The construction is borrowed from the Greek. See Thucydides, ii., 8: Τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. So Tacitus Agr. 18: "Quibus bellum volentibus erat."

li. Sempronius is recalled, to aid his colleague against Hannibal.—*Melitam, Malta*.—*urbem*, i.e., Vibo, on the west coast of Bruttium, called by the Greeks Hipponium; now *Bivona*.—*transitu*, i.e., *Hannibalis*. The events, then, recorded in this and the two preceding chapters must have happened before the middle of November at the latest.—*Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, a town in Umbria on the Adriatic (*mari supero*), a few miles south of the Rubicon. He probably preferred this route to that from *Pisa*, as safer from the attacks of Hannibal, and more likely to enable him to join his colleague with safety.—*decem navibus*. The rest of his ships were probably employed in transporting his soldiers from Lilybæum to Rome, as in c. xvii. we learn that he had 160 ships under his command. From Rome, according to Polybius, iii., 68, the soldiers had to make their way as they best could to join the consul at Ariminum, within forty days from the time of their leaving Lilybæum; and such, we are told, was their discipline and patriotism, that they all arrived at the time appointed.

lii. A skirmish between the Romans and Carthaginians.—*oppositum*, though referring to *consules* as well as to *quidquid*, agrees with the latter as the more important.—*modo ne* = *dummodo ne*.—*moverint* expresses more strongly than *moverent* what the Romans hoped but did not expect. *Moverent* might indicate an express order given by the Romans to the Gauls; a sense which would here be unsuitable.—*deinceps*, "continuously."—*ad id*, "up to that time."—*futuros*, "whom they expected to be."—*consulem*, that is, *Scipio*. The arrival of Sempronius was too recent to make the Gauls apply to him. They perhaps did not know he had joined his colleague yet.—*ut*, "*though*."—*primos quosque* is Alchefski's reading for *primosque* of the manuscripts.—*censebat* shows that Sempronius and Scipio's opinions were delivered in a council of war.—*mille* qualifies *jaculatoribus*.—*peditum* = *ex peditibus*.—*ferme* qualifies *mille*.—*sparsos* in early editions was preceded by *ii*, against the manuscripts.—*major . . . fuit*, "the fame of victory attached rather to the Romans than to the enemy."

liii. Hannibal's anxiety to bring on a battle.—*major*, i.e., *victoria*.—*aut*, "or rather."—*Quantum ingemiscant*, &c., "how must our fathers be groaning, in spirit, if perchance they are looking at us." The present tense representing the supposition as capable of being realised, adds to the vividness of the appeal.—*in prætorio*, not here probably in the general's tent only, but in the space, 200 feet square, forming a sort of parade ground around the tent. See Smith's Dict. Ant. on the word *Castra*.—*tempus propinquum comitiorum*. It was now the middle of December. The new consuls would supersede Sempronius and Scipio on the Ides of March; and the *comitia* for the election of consuls would probably be held early in February.—*dum . . . erat*. In some editions *dum . . . esset*.—

facere, i.e., *propinquum certamen*, "to bring the contest on, if there should be any backwardness on the part of the Romans."

liv. Hannibal lays an ambush. The Numidians attack the Romans, and tempt them to pursue them across the river.—*equites tegendo* is the reading of the manuscripts for the more elegant *ad equites tegendos* of Gronovius. "A dative of the gerund with an accusative (*esse onus ferendo*, for *oneri ferendo*) is very unusual." Madvig. § 413.—*centenos*, "*a hundred of each.*"—*prætorium*, "the council of war." "Prætorium mitti vel dimitti dicebatur, quum legati, tribuni, centuriones (primi pili), præfecti, et si qui alii circa imperatorem (in prætorio) esse consilii communicandi, aut imperiorum tesserarumque excipiendarum ergo solerent, ab imperatore dimittebantur ac discedebant." Ruperti.—*ad destinatum jam ante* = *ad id quod jam ante consilio destinatum erat.*—*brumæ*, "the winter solstice," contracted from *brevima*, another form of *brevissima*, "the shortest day."—*et quidquid*, &c., "and the nearer they came to the atmosphere of the stream, the more keenly," &c. "The cold," says Niebuhr, in this part of Lombardy, especially in the neighbourhood of Verona, is in truth not less severe than an ordinary winter in Germany."

lv. The battle of the Trebia.—*oleo*. "Brandy was not then known except in Egypt." Niebuhr.—*Baliares . . . levem armaturam* = *Baliares levemque armaturam*. See Polybius, iii. 72: προβαλόμενος ἐφεδρείαν τοὺς λογχοφόρους καὶ Βαλιαρεῖς, ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους. And the figure of *asyndeton* is a favourite one with Livy.—*quod virium, quod roboris erat*. Polybius says (iii. 72), περὶ δισμυρίους ὄντας τὸ πλῆθος.—*ab cornibus*. Polybius says πρὸ τῶν κεράτων.—*subito resistentibus* alludes to the constant practice of the Numidians to feign retreat, in order to draw their enemies into confusion, and then suddenly turn round and renew the attack.—*circumdedit peditibus*, i. e., "locavit a dextra lævaque peditum."—*duodeviginta millia*, i. e., of foot soldiers.—*socium* = *sociorum*. See notes on c. xvii.—*Cenomanorum*. The Cenomani were a Gaulish tribe to the north of the Po, between the Adda and the Adige. They were almost uniformly faithful to the Romans.—*efficit* is historic present for aorist.—*decem millibus equitum quattuor millia*. The numbers then were, on the side of the Romans, 38,000 foot and 4000 horse, and on the side of the Carthaginians 36,000 foot and 10,000 horse.—*leves armaturæ*. The singular is usual. The plural may be used here to signify the separate bodies formed for the attack of the right and left wings.—*velites* here = *jaculatores*, or light-armed troops in general; since the peculiar kind of light-armed troops, afterwards specially called *velites*, was not instituted till the siege of Capua some years later. See Livy, xxvi. 4.—*avertere* is the aorist indicative.

lvi. The Romans are beaten and flee to Placentia.—*in suos*, i. e., the Carthaginians.—*media acie*. Supply *in*, not *e*, to show the place where the elephants were maddened to fury, not the place from which they were sent.—*extremam*, i. e., *aciem*.—*cornum*, a less common form than *cornu*.—*quoque* must not be translated *also*, but *and* (*one*) *whereby*, being compounded of the relative adverb *quo* and the enclitic conjunction *que*.—*auxilia*, "their foreign allies;" *socii* is the term for the Italian allies of the Romans.—*medios . . . acie . . . perrupere*. It was the custom of Hannibal, as we shall see more plainly afterwards, to strengthen his wings and weaken his centre, in order to tempt the Romans to press onwards, and so break their line of battle, and expose themselves to attack on all sides at once.—*cunctationem ingrediendi* and *audaciam ingrediendi* are rare constructions, neither noun ordinarily taking a genitive after them.

But, as Weissenborn remarks, a gerund will stand after nouns which would not admit a noun in the genitive.—*timor hostium*, "their fear of the enemy."—*elephantos prope omnes*. Polybius says, "all but *one*."—*et quod reliquum . . . erat* can hardly, as Alschefski rightly remarks, be here equivalent to *magna pars militum quæ reliqua fuit*, because Livy himself says that very few of those who were engaged in the fight ever did get back to the camp again. It would rather here seem to mean, "and all that remained of that vast array of troops."—*sensere*, i. e., the Carthaginians.—*ab Scipione*, because *Sempronius* had made his way to Rome, like a brave man as he was, to hold the *comitia*.

lvii. The terror in Rome. The Consular Comitia are held.—*urbem Romanam*, "the great city of Rome," in opposition to *Romam*, the mere local designation, in the previous line. Polybius (iii. 75) mentions what Livy judiciously omits, that Sempronius had, at first, sent home a false account of the result of the engagement: ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι, μάχης γενομένης, τὴν νίκην αὐτῶν ὁ χειμὼν ἀφείλετο.—*qui . . . arcerent*. *Qui* is the old form of the ablative.—*fallendi*, "of escaping notice."—*Servilius* was the patrician, Flaminius the plebeian consul. Flaminius had been consul six years before, and had then obtained a triumph over the Gauls. He was strongly obnoxious to the patricians for having supported a law which tended to prevent the senators from embarking in commercial, in contradistinction to agricultural, pursuits.—*quæque* = *quæcunque*. So c. xlii.: *et cujusque sors exciderat*.—*emporium*, probably the port of Placentia, lying immediately on the Po.—*Romanis*, for *a Romanis*. The dative is frequently put for the ablative of the agent after passive participles, especially when the action done by the agent is for the benefit of the agent.—*spei* depends on *plurimum*, not on *effectum*.—*consul*, i. e., Scipio.—*Victumvias*. This is different from the town so variously spelt by different editors, mentioned in c. xlv., as near Vercellæ, and north of the left bank of the Po, as it is evidently not far from Placentia, and on the right bank of the Po. Neither of these last-mentioned expeditions of Hannibal are mentioned by Polybius.

lviii. Hannibal attempts to cross the Apennines before the winter is quite over. Polybius says nothing of this unsuccessful attempt. The whole chapter is most beautifully written.—*in Etruriam ducit*, in order to draw the Etruscans to revolt, before the Romans had taken the field.—*Apenninum*, like the word *Pennine*, probably contains the Celtic word *Pen*, or *Ben*, *a height*.—*intorti adlidebantur*, "they were whirled round and dashed to the earth."—*spiritum includeret*, "stopped their breath."—*captis auribus* is preferable to *capti auribus*, as better representing a temporary condition. Thus Livy (xxii. 2), speaking of a permanent condition, says "*Hannibal . . . altero oculo capitur*."—*explicare*, "to spread the canvas of the tent."—*statuere*, "to fix the tent-pole in the ground."—*levata vento* = "in altum elata et rapta."—*strage*, "a confused heap," in accordance with its derivation from *sterno*.—*torrentibus*. So c. xxxii: "pecora jumentaque torrida frigore."—*movere ac recipere*. Supply *coperunt* from the subsequent *cœptus est*. Alschefski quotes a similar instance of the active voice being understood in consequence of the presence of the passive: "Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa plebs . . . *agitari cœpta esset* tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum patribus *serere* certamina." Livy, ii. 1.—*ad alienam opem . . . inops*. So Hor. Od. iii. 16, 28: "magna inter opes *inops*."

lix. Engagement between Sempronius and Hannibal. This engagement is not alluded to by Polybius.—*millia*, i. e., *passuum*, a very common

ellipsis.—*passum* = *passuum*, one *u* being sometimes omitted in the genitive plural of the fourth declension.—*vincerent* has for its subject *Romani*, understood in *res Romana*.—*dextra lævaque*. There were four gates to a Roman camp, and probably to a Carthaginian camp.—*pugna raro magis ulla ea*, &c. Supply *clara* after *magis* from the subsequent *clarior*, and translate "rarely would any fight have been more glorious than this (for the valour exhibited by the Romans and their general) or more remarkable for the loss of life on either side, if . . . "—*dimidium ejus equitum*, half of that number of cavalry. This use of *ejus* is a favourite one with Livy. See x. 18 : "ad tria millia hostium cæsa erant, dimidium fere *ejus* (*thereof*) captum." xlii. 8 : "bonaque ut iis, quod *ejus* reciperari possit, reddantur."—*equestris ordinis*. The use of this phrase here is an anachronism. The *ordo equestris*, as a distinct political class, did not exist before it was called into being by the Lex Sempronia of C. Gracchus. Those whom Livy here distinguishes as *equestris ordinis* from the rest of the *equites* are the members of the eighteen centuries of the Servian timocracy, who received an *equus publicus*, and a sum of money to support it, from the state. The *equites* who were not *equestris ordinis* were those who did not belong to the eighteen centuries, and therefore did not receive an *equus publicus*, but served with their own horses and took regular pay. This class of *equites* came into existence, according to Livy (v. 7), during the siege of Veii.—*præfecti sociorum* were to the Italian allies what the *tribuni militum* were to the Romans.—*senatorum ferme liberis*, "mostly sons of senators." All the sons of senators would be members of the eighteen equestrian centuries; but these centuries were not composed entirely of the sons of senators, as plebeians as well as patricians were to be found in them.

lx. Cn. Scipio's successes in Spain against Hanno.—*Emporis*, contracted for *Emporiis*, now *Ampurias*, the first town to which ships sailing round the Pyrenæum Promontorium would come. For the reason of its being in the plural number see Livy, xxxiv. 9 : "Jam tunc Emporiæ duo oppida erant muro divisa : unum Græci habebant a Phocæa, unde et Massilienses, oriundi; alterum Hispani."—*Lacetanis*. Possibly *Laletanis* should be read for *Lacetanis*, as the *Lacetani* were inland, and Scipio's operations were on the sea-coast, where the *Laletani* were situated.—*dux cum . . . principibus capiuntur* = *dux et . . . . principes capiuntur*. So xlii. 20 : "taurum cum quinque vaccis uno ictu fulminis exanimatos."—*Cissis*, not *Scissis*. Polybius calls it Κίσσα. It is supposed to be on the same site as the modern Guisona.—*supellex* is in apposition with *præda*, and both *rerum* and *mancipiorum* are dependent on *præda*.—*citra* with reference to Cn. Scipio, who was then in Spain.

lxi. Hasdrubal coming too late to help Hanno is obliged to retreat.—*mille equitum*. *Mille* is here used as a substantive, with the genitive *equitum* dependent on it. So Corn. Milt. 5 : "Ea civitas mille misit militum." It is, however, rarely so used as it is here, in the ablative. See Madvig § 72, a.—*occursurus*, i. e. *iis*.—*Tarracone*, now *Tarragona*, the chief city in Catalonia during the Roman times.—*Atanagrum*, in some editions *Athanagiam*, the capital of the *Ilergetes*, supposed to be the modern Agramant, near Lerida.—*in jus ditionemque*. This is equivalent to "entire subjection."—*Ausetanos*, a tribe at the foot of the Pyrenees in Catalonia.—*talentis*, probably Attic talents, each = £243 15*s*. 0*d*.

lxii. Prodigies in Italy, and the way in which they were averted.—*quis* is the ablative.—*bovario* is generally written *boario*.—*hastam*, either the spear in the hand of the goddess Juno Sospita, who was

worshipped there, or some spear standing by itself.—*pulvinario*, a very rare form for the common *pulvinar*.—*sortes extenuatas*, "the lots had grown thin." The lots were oaken sticks with ancient characters written on them. "Numerium Suffucium, Prænestinorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus, cum juberetur certo in loco silicem cædere, perterritum visis, irridentibus suis civibus, id agere cœpisse: itaque perfracto saxo sortes erupisse, in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis." Cic. de Div. ii. 41. 85. It was considered a very sad sign when the sticks looked a little smaller.—*hostiæ majores* in opposition to *lactentes*.—*quibus editum est*, i. e. ut cæderentur.—*et Junoni*, "and *that* for Juno." This would seem to imply that *hastam* was not the spear in Juno's hand; that it was not thought necessary to make a special expiation for the spontaneous motion of the spear, which was not sacred to any deity, but that it was thought necessary to expiate the portent of the crow sitting on the *pulvinar*, because that concerned a goddess.—*Juventati*, the wife of Hercules, mentioned just after.—*nominatim*, in opposition to *circa omnia pulvinaria*.—*Genio*, "the Guardian Spirit of Rome." He is often seen represented on coins of Trajan and Hadrian. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Rom. Biog. and Myth., article *Genius*.—*C. Atilius*, mentioned before, c. 26. He was probably *prætor peregrinus*.

lxiii. Flaminius, afraid of being cheated by the patricians, on pretended scruples of religion, of the opportunity of distinguishing himself, leaves Rome secretly.—*consulem*, "the Consul Sempronius," as may be seen from the last few words of the chapter.—*Hic in provincia*, "here in his province," that is, at Ariminum.—*tribunus plebis*. He was tribune of the people in the year 522 A. U. C., and offended the patricians by carrying an agrarian law for the division of the *Ager Gallicus et Picenus* among the plebeians.—*consul*. He was consul 531 A. U. C. As the senators hated him in consequence of the agrarian law that he had carried, they tried to deprive him of his consulship on the ground of some pretended irregularity of the auspices; but the letter which was to deprive him of his command arrived just as he was about to fight with the Insubrians, and, of course, was not opened till the battle was over and the victory won. When the senate, in consequence, refused him a triumph, he appealed to the commons, and obtained it from them.—*novum*, "new," either as opposed to the older agrarian law, or as introducing a new state of things.—*Q. Claudius . . . tulerat*, &c. This happened the year before Flaminius's second consulship. The object of the bill was of course to restrain the nobility from commerce, and to confine them to agriculture.—*amphorarum*. The tonnage of a ship was measured by *amphoræ*; one *amphora* containing (see Smith's Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Ant.) 6 gallons 7·577 pints.—*auspiciis ementiendis* = "*falsis auspiciis nuntiandis*." He had already been turned out of one office, the mastership of the horse to Q. Fabius Maximus, by the squeaking of a mouse.—*Latinarumque feriarum mora*. The *feriæ Latinæ* were among the *feriæ conceptivæ*, or moveable feasts, which took place not at a fixed date but whenever the senate chose to fix a day (*concipere*) for their celebration. Hence, as it was considered the bounden duty of the consul to preside at them, if the senate did not wish the consul to go to his province, they were in no hurry to fix the time at which they should be held. There is no doubt that if Flaminius suspected such meanness and hypocrisy in his political opponents, he was bound, from love to his country, to act as he did, for Hannibal would not be likely to wait till the squabbles between parties at Rome were settled and the *feriæ Latinæ* duly cele-

brated. Indeed, as it was, he had anticipated Flaminius.—*Non cum senatu modo*, &c. The whole of this speech represents most aptly the specious manner in which religious zeal is often basely assumed as a cloak for party-spirit.—*spretorum*, i. e., *deorum atque hominum.*—*Capitolium.* "nam consul magistratum initurus solebat primum a senatu et populo mane domi suæ salutari, et inde in Capitolium deduci (illud dicebatur *officium*, hoc *processus consularis*) ; deinde in Capitolio vota rite concipere, seu nuncupare, et bovem immolare Jovi ; tum munus suum auspicari, coacto senatu ; ad eum referre tum de religione feriisque Latinis (vel eas indicere) ; tum de republica ; et in leges jurare ; mox has ferias agere, et *Jovi Latiari solenne sacrum in monte* Albano *facere. Vota nuncupare*, i. e., suscipere, seu Diis sacrificia, signa, templa promittere solebant magistratus in provinciis abeuntes. Votis nuncupatis *paludati* urbe exibant, multitudine hominum officii causa eos prosequente." Ruperti.—*ne Latinas indiceret*, i. e., *ferias.*—*Jovique Latiari.* For the origin of this sacrifice, common to Rome originally with all the towns of the Priscans and Latins, and the towns of the Alban confederacy, and pointing to a time when she was their equal, not their superior, see Smith's Dict. of Ant., article *Feriæ.*—*auspicato profectus* points to a second procession to the Capitol immediately before starting from Rome.—*paludatis.* Most editors have *paludatus.* Weissenborn conjectures *paludatus paludatis cum lictoribus*, which reading is perhaps the best of all, not only because it will reconcile the variations in the manuscripts, but because not only the consul but also his lictors went out of the city after he had been invested by the *comitia curiata* with the *imperium*, wearing the *paludamentum*, or red cloak, which could only be worn outside the city.—*sine insignibus*, i. e., *sine paludamento.*—*clam, furtim*, "secretly and like a thief (*fur*)."—*imperii*, "of the military *imperium.*"—The *toga prætexta*, so called because it was *bordered* with purple, was worn by magistrates.—*procul*, "at a distance."—*a C. Atilio prætore.* These two legions were probably the same which he had in the beginning of the year commanded himself, had then given over to Scipio, and had received again from Scipio at the end of the year, when Scipio had to return to Rome to be cured in quiet of the wound he received at the Ticinus.—*exercitus duci est cœptus.* This is a slight anacoluthon for *exercitum ducere cœpit*, as the form of the previous part of the sentence shows.

BOOK XXII.

i. Hannibal begins the campaign. The disturbed state of feeling at Rome.—*Galli.* Hannibal, then, must have wintered in Lombardy, not, as Livy (xxi. 59) would have led us to suppose, in Liguria. Livy forgot to mention his subsequent return to Lombardy.—*postquam* here governs the subjunctive ; a very rare construction, because *postquam* generally expresses no relation closer than that of time between the two notions that it connects. Sometimes, however, even in that case it takes a subjunctive ; as "posteaquam ædificasset, ornassetque classes, exercitusque comparasset" (Cic. pro L. Man. 4, 9). In the passage before us it is not so much the sequence of time that is prominently brought forward, as the subjective view of the Gauls on the subject. See Alsch. on the passage.—*principium*, a rare form

of the genitive plural for words that, like *princeps*, having no neuter plural, generally make their genitive plural in *um*.—*tegumenta capitis*, "wigs."—*errore*, "by their doubt as to his identity."—*justum imperium*. This means that Flaminius had gone out without being invested by the *comitia curiata* with the *imperium*.—*magistratus*, "that only magistrates," not private persons, as Flaminius still was, when he stole out of Rome.—*sine auspiciis profectum*. If the auspices had not been properly taken in Rome, before starting, they could never, so it was held, be properly taken afterwards away from home.—*equiti*. "Hanc curam equitum fuisse Polyb. vi. 35, dicit."—*solis orbem minui visum*, i. e., there was a partial eclipse of the sun.—*Prœneste*, about 23 miles east of Rome.—*ardentes lapides*, "meteoric stones."—*Arpis*, now Arpa, in Apulia, west of the Gulf of Manfredonia.—*Capenæ*, a town in the south of Etruria, due north of Rome.—*aquas Cæretes*. *Cære*, the Greek *Agylla*, was a town of Etruria, about 27 miles west of Rome. The baths of *Cære* were famous. Hence arose, not far from the old city, the watering-place, *Aquæ Cæretanæ*.—*Antii*, the modern Porto d'Anzo, on the coast of Latium, about 38 miles from Rome.—*Falerii*, a town in the south-east corner of Etruria, now Santa Maria di Falleri.—*excidisse*, "fell out," that is, of the *sitella*.—*luporum*, as being sacred to Mars.—*Capuæ*, the capital of Campania.—*marem . . . . feminam*. Cicero uses these words similarly: "Nam primum aliæ (bestiæ) mares, aliæ feminæ sunt" (Nat. De. ii. 51).—*pondo*. The Roman pound weight was equivalent to about 11⅞ oz. avoirdupois. (See Smith's Dict. of Ant. article *Libra*.)—*quin et*. So Virg. Æn. vii. 750: "Quin et Marrubia venit de gente sacerdos."—*et ipsæ*, "as well as the matrons."—*inde*, supply *et ut* from the preceding *et ut*. Most editors have *unde*, which is simpler and better.—*Feroniæ*, close to Capena, in the south-eastern corner of Etruria. Here a goddess of the same name was worshipped, "quæ fuit dea Latii indiges, et libertinorum libertinarumque; a quibus etiam pileus, libertatis insigne, petebatur" (Ruperti).—*Ardeæ*, a town of Latium, still called by the same name, about 24 miles south of Rome. It seems strange that sacrifices should have been offered there, as no prodigies had occurred there. But "sic (xlii. 20) traditur, cum in Capitolio columna rostrata fulmine discussa esset, decemviros, prætor alia, non Romæ modo in Capitolio, sed etiam in Campania, ad Minervæ promontorium, victimis majoribus sacrificandum esse renuntiasse." (Alsch.)—*et*, "and indeed."—*Saturnalia . . . . clamata*. The cry was "*Io Saturnalia!*" Perhaps the word *Io* once stood in the manuscripts.—*populusque . . . . jussus*. As the feast of the Saturnalia had been founded many years before, Saturn being the old national deity of Latium (see also Livy, ii. 21), we must suppose that it was now reinstituted with fresh rites and increased solemnity.

ii. Hannibal's march through the marshes of the Arno.—*delectu* = *delectui*. "Dativum sing. quartæ declin. in *u* sæpius apud Livium legi notum est: cf. iv. 12, "vendere quod usu menstruo superesset" (Alsch.).—*Arretium prævenisse*, = "*prius venisse quam alterum consulem*." Polybius's account of the movements of the consuls is very different and much more probable than Livy's. He says (iii. 77) that Flaminius went through Etruria to Arretium (the modern *Arezzo*), and Servilius to Ariminum, both of course having the same object, to cover the approaches to Rome, and both acting on a mutually preconcerted plan. But patrician hatred of a consul who was plebeian by birth and sympathy, and had thwarted the patricians in their plans for money-getting, together with his own subsequent ill-success, has led to the falsification of history for the purpose of blackening his character.—*commodius*. Hannibal knew it was unguarded.

The two other roads were watched by the two consuls, who probably thought that the Arno was quite sufficient without their help to guard the one by which Hannibal came after all.—*qua modo.* "In *qua modo* inest et *quacumque via* et *dummodo prœirent duces.*"—*prœaltas . . . . ac profundas.* "Videri potest *prœaltum* idem significare quod *profundum:* at in priore voce prævalet *altum*, in altera id quod verbo *fundere* exprimitur. Illæ voragines igitur non modo deruptæ erant, sed etiam late patebant, ut qui in eas se inmergerent, et in præcipitem altitudinem raperentur, nec ex eis emergere possent, nisi diu multumque luctando" (Al.)—*aut . . . . aut* here after *neque* are equivalent to *neque . . . . neque.—neque sustinere se prolapsi . . . . poterant* = "cum prolapsi essent, se sustinere non poterant."—*maximeque omnium,* "and most of all."—*jumentorum . . . . dabant.* "Heaps of beasts of burden, which had fallen down everywhere along the line of march, furnished what was necessary for a bed to those who sought, for a temporary rest, only something that stood above the water."—*cœlo,* "atmosphere."

iii. Flaminius, in spite of evil omens, resolves on battle.—*copias,* "means."—*in rem erant* = *utile erat.* So "imperat quæ in rem sunt." xxvi. 44.—*Italiæ* depends on *in primis.—Fæsulas,* the modern Fiesole, about three miles from Florence, and therefore in the midst of one of the richest plains in all Italy.—*inter* is here put after its case. So Cæsar Bell. Civ. iii. 6: "Cerauniorum saxa inter et alia loca periculosa." (See Madvig, § 469, Obs. 1.)—*ferox.* Supply *erat.—non modo* here = *non modo non;* as is frequently the case when there is one predicate common to the two clauses and that predicate occurs in the latter clause. Thus in this case the common predicate *satis metuens* is placed at the end of the clause introduced by *ne . . . . quidem.—civilibus* alludes to his agrarian law, and the law checking commercial speculation among the senators; *bellicis,* to his triumph over the Gauls.—*nec quidem* is somewhat stronger than *ne quidem.—sua,* "to which he was peculiarly open."—*læva.* Hannibal had already passed Fæsulæ, and was between it and Arretium. Besides, he could not have had the Romans on his left, if he had been going to Fæsulæ. We must therefore conclude that there is some error in the text. Voss proposes to read *a Fæsulis petens medios Etruriæ agros.* Hannibal's course must have been, as Niebuhr states, from Fiesole toward Siena.—*ferri* refers to goods, *agi* to live stock.—*in consilio,* "in the council of war."—*signum itineris pugnæque.* The signal for marching was given by trumpet-call; that for battle by the hoisting of a purple flag from the *prætorium.—in vulgus* = *vulgo,* "in general."

iv. The battle of Lake Trasumennus.—*Cortonam,* about nine miles north of the Lake Trasumennus, and still retaining its old name.—*Trasumennum,* now the Lake of Perugia.—*via . . . . perangusta, &c.* For a plan of the battle-field see Liddell's History of Rome, p. 306. Hannibal lay between Flaminius and Rome, somewhere near the modern village of Passignano, about the north-east corner of the lake. Flaminius started early in the morning from somewhere near the north-west corner of the lake, and moved toward Passignano. The nature of the ground is sufficiently described by Livy as shut in on three sides by hills, and on the fourth by the lake.—*Romanus . . . . sensit.* "The Romans, in consequence of the clamour that arose on all sides, discovered that they were surrounded before they plainly saw that they were."

v. The battle continued.—*ut in re trepida,* "as far as was possible under such perilous circumstances."—*quoque* is the pronoun, not the conjunction.—*signa* refers to the maniples; *ordinem* to the century to which each

belonged; and *locum*, the special position of each in that century.—*vulnerum*, "caused by the pain of the wounds."—*strepentium*, "of those who shouted."—*capti*, "undertaken" as the result of circumstances, and therefore somewhat different from *facti*.—*principes hastatosque*. The *pastati* fought first and the *principes* next. But Livy here joins them together in one notion by the particle *que*. Then in the next clause he introduces the *triarii* by the comparatively separative conjunction *ac*, to show that these formed the *subsignani*, a body perfectly distinct from the other two who formed the *antesignani*.—*ardor armorum*, "the ardour of the fray."—*motum terræ*. See Cic. de Div. i. 35, 78: "Magnum illud etiam, quod addidit Cœlius, eo tempore ipso, cum hoc calamitosum fieret prælium, tantos terræ motus in Liguribus, Gallia, compluribusque insulis, totaque in Italia factos esse, ut multa oppida corruerint, multis locis labes factæ sint, terræque desederint, fluminaque in contrarias partes fluxerint, atque in amnes mare influxerit."

vi. Flaminius is killed, and the Romans are defeated.—*eum et*, &c. *Eum* stands before *et*, because *et hostes*, &c. was intended to follow immediately. The introduction of the sentence *et ipse . . . . opem* was an afterthought, and is in some measure destructive of the symmetry of the sentence.—*Insuber*. It was over the *Insubres* that Flaminius had gained his triumph in his first consulate.—*Ducario* is in the dative by attraction to *ei* understood.—*armigero*, "his shield-bearer."—*triarii*, "*some* triarii" who happened to be there. (See c. v.)—*Punica religione . . . . ab Hannibale*. πρῶτον μὲν διεσάφησεν, ὅτι Μάρβας οὐκ εἴη κύριος ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης διδοὺς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ὑποσπόνδοις· Polyb. iii. 85.—*atque*, "and so."—*conjecit* instead of *conjecti sunt*. Livy likes to make a sudden change from one voice to another for the purpose of effect. victimam alam

vii. The number of the slain, and the terror at Rome.—*nobilis*, "well-known."—*memorata hoc loco* Livius de industria scripsit, non *memoranda*, nec *memorabilis*, ne id, quod Populo Romano dedecori fuisset, dicere voluisse videretur, nisi rei ipsius necessitate coactus.—*aversis*, "out of the way."—*duo millia quingenti*. Polybius has εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. If, as is most probable, he got his information from the same source as Livy did, he must originally have written εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους.—*Fabium. Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the grandson of the first Roman painter, of whom we have any knowledge, wrote in the Greek language a history of Rome from the earliest times to his death, which occurred probably about the end of the Second Punic War. He was a historian of great authority, though Polybius accuses him of a not unnatural partiality for his countrymen. He was sent (see xxii. 57) to consult the Oracle at Delphi after the battle of Cannæ.—*qui . . . . essent*. *Essent*, being in the subjunctive, expresses, not "who actually *were* of the Latin name," but "whom Hannibal *thought* to be of the Latin name."—*frequentis . . . . turba*, "a crowd so large that it might have been taken for a crowded assembly of the people."—*comitium*, that part of the *forum* in which the *comitia* were held.—*M. Pomponius* Matho. "Omisit præter morem Livius eorum nomina, qui præturam hoc anno gesserunt. Ea hic reddemus. M. Æmilius Regillus urbanam jurisdictionem obtinuit: M. Pomponius Matho peregrinam: T. Otacilius Crassus Siciliam: A. Cornelius Mammula Sardiniam."—*impleti* agrees with the sense of number in *alius ab alio*.—*postero*, i. e., *die*.

viii. On the news of another loss Fabius is appointed prodictator.—*equitum*. These were sent because it had been proved at Ticinus and Trebia how strong Hannibal was in this arm.—*propræture*. Centenius

was not *proprætor*, because he was not *prætor* the year before; but it was not unusual for the officers who were sent by the consuls as their lieutenants to be called *proprætors*, just as the consuls themselves were originally called *prætores*, and the general's tent *prætorium*.—*valido*. We might have expected *in valido*.—*causa* = *morbus*.—*inciderit*; the aorist is used instead of the past imperfect, to give vividness to the simile.—*ad remedium*, &c. "Hæc intelligenda sunt de dictatore rei gerundæ causa creato, qui nullus post Atilium Calatinum per tres et triginta annos creatus fuerat. Aliquot fuere per hoc temporis intervallum dictatores, inter quos ipse Fabius, sed comitiorum habendorum causa creati" (Crevier). *dictatorem dicendum* is in apposition with *remedium*.—*consul aberat*. It was usual for the senate to nominate the person who was to be dictator, and for the consul to rise at dead of night and pronounce that person dictator. There were strong religious objections to his being created in any other way; hence the people now created not a dictator, but a prodictator, and they also, not he, appointed his master of the horse. This should be borne in mind.—*muros*. The senate must have expected that Hannibal would march straight to Rome, and begin the siege forthwith. Hannibal, however, never dreamt of entering on so mad an enterprise. His army would have soon melted away before the strong walls and scarped cliffs of Rome, and the terrible attacks of the malaria, so fatal in the summer months around the city. His design was, as was shown by his releasing all the allies and keeping the Romans, that fell into his hands, in chains, to raise a general revolt against the pre-eminence of Rome, among the various nations of Italy, and so blot out the obnoxious city from the earth. But God had work for Rome to do, that Rome alone could do; and so, happily for the human race, Hannibal failed, in what, from his point of view, however, was a most noble and patriotic undertaking.—*quando* = *quandoquidem*.

ix. Hannibal devastates Italy. The Sibylline books are examined at Rome.—*Spoletium*, now Spoleto, in the States of the Church.—*quanta molcs . . . esset*, "how great was the power, and, therefore, the difficulty of taking."—*Picenum*, the territory on the borders of the Adriatic bounded by the Esino and the Vomano.—*per dies aliquot*. During this period of rest, according to Polybius iii. 87, he armed his African troops with the arms he had taken from the Romans, and sent news, now that he was once more near the sea, of his successes to the senate of Carthage.—*levi*, "without great loss."—*facili*, "without great exertion."—*Ubi satis . . . gaudentibus* may be translated "When sufficient time had been given for rest to soldiers who delighted more in" &c., or "When sufficient time had been devoted to rest, though the soldiers delighted more in" &c. In the former case *gaudentibus* would be in the dative after *datum*; in the latter it would be in the ablative absolute.—*Prætutianum*. The *Prætutianus ager* was in the south-western part of the *ager Picenus*. The *ager Hadrianus* was just south of the *ager Picenus*, between the *Vomanus* and the *Matrinus*.—*Marsos*, a race of Sabine origin, inhabiting the mountainous district round L. Fucinus, now L. Celano.—*Marrucinos*, a tribe of kindred origin with the Marsi, inhabiting the southern bank of the river *Aternus*, now the *Pescara*.—*Pelignos*, a tribe also of Sabine descent, bordering on the Marsi, and occupying the mountain valley of the *Gizio*, a tributary of the *Aternus*.—*Arpos*, now Arpa, in the middle of the great Apulian plain, thirteen miles east of *Luceria*, now Lucera.—*dictator iterum*. He had been created dictator a few years before, and Flaminius his master of the horse; but both of them had been obliged to give up their offices, as has

been already mentioned, because some one had heard, or pretended he had heard, the squeak of a mouse. He was, now, strictly not dictator but prodictator.—*temeritate.* No one, I think, can fairly absolve Flaminius from all blame with regard to the battle of Trasumennus. Well-meaning, upright, and honourable he certainly was; but cautious he was not.—*Veneri Erycinæ.* This goddess was evidently, from her connection with the story of Æneas (Virg. Æn. v. 759), a goddess of Pelasgian origin. Her worship was at this time transplanted from Mount Eryx to Rome.—*Menti* See Ovid. Fast. vi. 241:

> Mens quoque numen habet; Menti delubra videmus
> Vota metu belli, perfide Pœne, tui.
> Pœne, rebellaras; et leto consulis omnes
> Attoniti Mauras pertimuere manus.
> Spem Metus expulerat: cum Menti vota Senatus
> Suscipit, et melior protinus illa venit.

—*Veri sacrum vovendum,* "that sacred rites must be vowed to the Goddess of Spring." Most editors have altered this, which is the reading of the manuscripts, to *ver sacrum vovendum,* because *vere sacr-* occurs in the beginning of the next chapter. But no change is necessary.—*M. Æmilium,* because he was *prætor urbanus.*

x. A sacred spring, the Great Games, and several temples are vowed at Rome.—*de vere sacro,* "about the dedication of all animals born within the Calends of March and the Calends of May." See Livy xxxiv. 44. Ruperti quotes from Festus, "Magnis periculis adducti vovebant Itali, quæcunque proximo vere nata essent apud se animalia, inmolaturos. Sed quum crudele videretur pueros ac puellas innocentes interficere, perductos in adultam ætatem velabant, atque ita extra fines suos exigebant." The present *ver sacrum* however referred only to cattle.—*in hæc verba,* "after this form."—*velitis jubeatisne = Rogo num velitis jubeatisque.*—The conjunction is omitted as is usual in old Latin forms of speech, as for instance *patres conscripti;* and *ne* is put after the latter verb of the well-known and therefore hardly divisible formula instead of after the former verb.—*Populi Romani Quiritium. Populus Romanus Quirites,* more rarely *Populus Romanus Quiritesque,* and more commonly *Populus Romanus Quiritium,* is the usual name for the Roman people on solemn occasions. Niebuhr maintains that the two people of Rome and Quirium were so called after they coalesced into one nation. Fabri, on the ground that the Sabine word *Quirites* means "*political confederates,*" holds that the difference between the two words is that *Romani* is the historical and externally political name, *Quirites* the name which is used in relation to all matters of internal policy, and quotes Festus, p. 254: "Quirites autem dicti post fœdus a Romulo et Tatio percussum communionem et societatem populi factam indicant."—*duellis,* the older form for *bellis.*—*datum donum duit.* Alliteration is always a favourite source of pleasure in the infancy of a nation's literature.—*duit* for *dct,* from *du-im, -is, -it,* &c., an old way of inflecting the present imperfect subjunctive which is still retained in *velim, possim,* &c. There is no need for the insertion of *ut.* The subjunctive is used for the imperative.—*quod duellum . . . cis Alpes sunt.* Some editors put the whole of this sentence before *datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium,* by which means they make a considerable improvement in style, and simplify the construction by bringing the relatives *quod* . . . *quæ* into immediate connection with their antecedent *duellis;* but the ruder order retained in the text, where the relative clause appears to have

been added as an after-thought, is more likely to be the genuine copy of the original form.—*quæque profana erunt*, "and which have not been already dedicated to any god."—*fieri* = *sacrificari*. So Virgil, Ecl. iii. 77: "Quum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito." *Fieri* is dependent on *datum donum duit*.—*quando volet*, i.e. after the day fixed by the senate.—*faxit*. In place of the usual future, another was formed in the older language by adding *so* to the crude form, as *fac-so*, *faxo*. From this future there was formed a subjunctive by changing *o* into *im*; as *faxo*, *faxim*.—*quod*. *Quo* would be commoner, as *vitula* is in the ablative in the passage just quoted from Virgil.—*profanum esto*, "let it be considered as undedicated."—*neque* = *neve*.—*rumpet*. Alsch. quotes Ulpian's Pandects, ix. 2, 27: § 17. "*Rupisse* eum utique accipiemus, qui vulneraverit, vel virgis vel loris vel pugnis ceciderit, vel telo vel quo alio, ut sciderit ei corpus vel tumorem fecerit."—*fraus* = *scelus*.—*clepset* is formed from *clepo*, in Greek κλέπτω, just as *faxit* is formed from *facio*, except that, if *clepset* be the right reading, and not, as most editors have, *clepsit*, it is the past-perfect subjunctive instead of the present-perfect. This would be against the rule observed in later times with regard to the sequence of tenses; but it is obvious that in so rude a form of words as this, strict adherence to such a rule is not always to be expected.—*atro die* = *nefasto die*. Alsch. quotes A. Gell. v. 17: "Verrius Flaccus . . . dies qui sunt postridie calendas, nonas, idus, quos vulgus imperite *nefastos* dicit, propter hanc causam dictos habitosque *atros* esse scribit."—*ante id ea*. These three words are generally written as one word, *anteidea* or *antidea*, and supposed to follow the analogy of *antidhac*, an old form for *antehac*, and *antideo*, an old form for *anteeo*. But this does not seem necessary; for, as Alsch. suggests, *id*, though placed between *ante* and its case *ea*, is the object of *jusserit*.—*ac* here = *quam*.—*faxitur* = *factum erit*, and is the passive form of the active *faxit*.—*æris*, i.e. *assium*, as the *as* was made of *æs*. In the dictatorship of Fabius Maximus, we are informed by Pliny xxxiii. 13, 45, the *Asses* were made of one ounce weight each, but as in all bargains they were reckoned by weight and not by tale, so here no doubt there were 333333⅓ pounds of bronze offered to the Gods.—*Jovi* depends on *fieri*, supplied from the context.—*in aliqua sua fortuna* means either "because they had something to lose, and therefore were keenly reminded how inseparable were their own and their country's fortunes," or else "though they were plunged into the deepest apprehension on their own account."—*Jovi ac Junoni &c.* These twelve Deities were the *Di majorum gentium*.

xi. Fabius's plans for carrying on the war.—*ve* is not quite = *que* here, but rather makes *quot* corrective of or supplementary to *quibus*.—*duas*. Polybius (iii. 88) says, τεττάρων στρατοπέδων.—*Tibur*, as well as *diem*, is governed by *edixit*, not by *conveniendum*. See xxxv. 25, "Sicyonem consilium edixerunt." So in the passive voice xxiii. 31, "Cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies erat."—*via Flaminia*. This road, commenced by the late Consul Flaminius, during his censorship, went northwards through Etruria to Ocriculum, now Otricoli, in Umbria, and thence ultimately to Ariminum.—*exercitu* is archaic for *exercitui*.—*vetustate . . . oblitos*. See the note in c. 8.—*portum Cosanum* vel Herculis, now Porto d'Ercole, often used by the Roman fleets, when about to depart to Corsica, Sardinia, or Spain.—*Ostiam*, still called *Ostia*, situated at the mouth of the Tiber, was the port of Rome.—*ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ* = either "in the docks near Rome or at Ostia," or "near Rome, that is to say, at Ostia."—*quibus liberi essent*, "qui tanquam

obsides virtutis parentum haberentur."—*urbano*, "raised in the city."—*alii* = *ceteri*.

xii. Fabius declines a pitched battle, to the disgust of his master of the horse.—*legato*. The *Consul* had already gone in obedience to the orders he had received.—*Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, in the States of the Church, about 20 miles from Rome.—*quo die . . . militibus* = *quo die, ut convenirent milites, edictum proposuerat*. So xxxv. 3, "Minucius consul Arretium die, qua edixerat ad conveniendum militibus, venit." Some editors have translated *quo*, "whither," and without authority altered *die* into *diem;* because the usual phrase is *diem edicere militibus*, and they could find no instance in Livy of the supposed attraction of *eo die quem* into *quo die*. But no change is needed.—*Prænestе*, now *Palestrina*, about 23 miles due east from Rome.—*transversis limitibus*, "by cross-roads."—*viam Latinam*. This road ran through Latium (whence its name) and Campania to Beneventum in Samnium, where it joined the still more celebrated *via Appia*.—*Arpis*. Polybius says that Fabius encamped at *Æcæ*, the modern *Troja*, which is some little way from *Arpi*.—*victos . . . quos Martios animos Romanis*. Literally = "what martial spirits of the Romans were now at length subdued!" i. e. "that martial as the spirits of the Romans had once been, they were now utterly broken."—*debellatumque . . . esse* involves a kind of ὕστερον πρότερον, being equivalent to "*cum jam propalam de virtute ac gloria Romani Pœnis cessissent, debellatum esse*." Al.—*et concessumque*. "*Que* idem fere quod *quoque* dicit nec conjunctione *etiam* hoc loco mutari potuit, quod ex hujus ulterius particulæ vi Hannibal dicere videretur, se plus actum esse quam quod suæ suorumque virtuti deberetur. His duabus igitur particulis '*et—que*' junctis quantam maximam vim in *concessum*, id quod rei ratio postulat, poni neminem fugerit." Al.—*non vim*, "not any sudden vehemence of attack."—*si*, "to see whether."—*obsistebat*, "stood ready to engage."—*per loca alta . . . . ducebat*. This description does not harmonise very well with Fabius's position in the level country about Arpi, but must be referred rather to his tactics when following Hannibal, in the forays that are spoken of in the next chapter.—*nisi . . . cogeret*, "except in so far forth as the need of what was necessary compelled him" (to let them go out of the camp).—*universo periculo*, "a decisive engagement."—*summa rerum*, "the very existence of the state."—*parva . . . certaminum*, "small undecisive skirmishes;" "levia certamina quæ haud magni per se momenti erant." Crev.—*qui nihil . . . habebat*, "who was only prevented from ruining the state through the circumstance that in the extent of the military command he exercised, he was subordinate to the dictator."—*in vulgus*, "before the common soldiers."—*premendoque superiorem*, "and by depreciating his superior." So c. 59: "*Nec premendo alium me extulisse velim*."

xiii. Hannibal's march to Campania. He is led by mistake to Casilinum.—*Hirpinis*, a Samnite tribe inhabiting the southern portion of Samnium. Possibly they had become in some measure separate from the rest of the Samnites, since they had become subject to the Romans.—*Beneventanum*. Beneventum, now Benevento, to the north of Naples, became a Roman colony 486 A. U. C.—*Telesiam*, now Telese, a little to the north-west of Beneventum.—*etiam atque etiam promissa*, "what they had so repeatedly promised."—*aliquibus* is not a very common form for the ablative. Livy generally uses *aliquis*, just as he often uses *quis* for *quibus*.—*Casinatem*. Casinum, now San Germano, is about five miles to the north of the left bank of the Liris, now the Garigliano. A Roman colony

had been long established there, because it commanded the valley of the Garigliano, and was therefore most important in a military point of view.—*interclusurum.* This is not true. Hannibal by occupying *Casinum* would have only closed the *via Latina* to Fabius.—*Punicum.* Supply *nomen* from *nomine.*—*Casilinum,* a town of Campania, about three miles west of Capua. It was important as a military position, because it guarded the chief bridge over the Vulturnus, which is there unfordable. In consequence of its natural strength (see Smith's Dict. of Geogr.) the inhabitants of Capua, which had just been destroyed, removed thither in the ninth century, and gave it its modern name of Capoua. It may be added, that this account of the guide's making a mistake between the two names, and so leading Hannibal into Campania, when he wished to go into Latium, is extremely unlikely. Polybius distinctly says that Hannibal left Samnium with the distinct intention of going into the Falernian district (iii. 90), in order either to compel the Romans to accept battle, and almost, as a matter of course, be defeated, or else to prove to their allies that they were utterly cowed, and so induce them to join him. It is true that it was a very bold step for Hannibal to take; but a great general always does bold things, because he is confident in his own resources.—*Allifanum.* Allifæ, now Alife, lay at the foot of the Matese, on the left bank of the Volturno.—*Calatinum.* Calatia, now Caiazzo, lay in the angle formed by the sharp bend of the Volturno to the west.—*Calenum.* Cales, now Calvi, was situated in the north of Campania, between the modern towns of Teano and Capoua.—*Campum Stellatem.* The plain between *Cales* and *Casilinum,* as it would appear. But why Livy should make Hannibal march from Calatia westward to Cales, in order to get to Casilinum, which lay to the south of Calatia, he does not mention. In fact, in an age when there were no maps, geographical accuracy was a hard matter.—*aquas Sinuessanas,* now *Mondragone,* on the G. of Gaëta, celebrated anciently for its warm baths. So Sil. Ital. viii. 529: "*Sinuessa tepens.*"—*agrum Falernum.* This district, so celebrated for its wines, extended from the neighbourhood of *Sinuessa* to the right bank of the Vulturnus.—*quod unum . . est* depends closely on *melioribus.* The thought then will be that the only sure bond of fidelity is that the rulers should be superior to the ruled.

xiv. Minucius inveighs against the cautious tactics of Fabius.—*Massici montis.* This range of hills, now Monte Massico, almost as famous as the *ager Falernus* for the quality of its wine, extended eastward from *Sinuessa* to the left bank of the Liris.—*prope* must qualify *seditio;* "what almost amounted to a mutiny;" though it is rare to find the adverb separated from the word it qualifies, as it is here by the interposition of *de integro.*—*celerius.* Fabius probably had been in haste in order to occupy the passes leading from Campania into Rome, thinking that Hannibal would not venture to await his approach in the rugged district of Campania.—*spectatum* and *ad rem fruendam* both depend on *venimus.* "Have we come to look on; to feast on the spectacle with our eyes?"—*alterius* is here put for *alius.*—*colonos.* They were sent, 458 A. U. C., for the purpose mentioned in the text.—*pro!* "alas," is seldom put, as here, without any accompanying words. But see Ovid Met. xiii. 758: "Pro, quanta potentia regni Est, Venus alma, tui."—*et Hannibalem,* "even a Hannibal."—*æstivos saltus,* mountain pastures, which are browsed on by the cattle during the summer months, such as in Switzerland are called *Alps.*—*Janiculum.* The *Mons Janiculus,* on the right bank of the Tiber, was the highest hill of Rome, and the one to which Camillus would come on the road from Veii to Rome.—*busta Gallica.* Fabri quotes Varr., L. L. v. 32: "Locus ad busta

Gallica quod Roma recuperata Gallorum ossa, qui possederunt urbem, ibi coacervata ac consepta."—*Gabios*, now Castiglione, a city of Latium, about 12 or 13 miles east of Rome.—*cum* = *postquam*.—*Samni* is the gen. for *Samnii*. But *imperii* occurs in this chapter. —*modo*. The interval was twenty-five years; but that would seem *recent* when put in comparison with the deeds of Papirius Cursor, who avenged the disgrace of the Caudine Forks 445 A.U.C.—*equitumque*. These *equites*, who were mixing easily among the officers, must have been the equites who had an *equus publicus*, as mentioned in a previous chapter.—*haud dubie ferebant*, "they declared in no doubtful terms."

XV. Fabius persists in his tactics. Mancinus, fired by Minucius's speech, acts against orders, and pays the penalty of his disobedience.—*pariter* and *haud minus quam* do not mean the same thing. The former points out similarity, the latter the degree of similarity.—*prius ab aliis invictum animum*, "a mind which had already shown itself not to be conquered by others" (that is, by Hannibal on the one side, and by his fellow-citizens on the other).—*præsentis cibi*, &c., "could supply him with food only for the summer months, not for the coming winter"—*fructibus*, being dependent on *consita*, must mean not so much "fruit" as "plants that bore fruit." The chief reasons why Hannibal wanted to leave Campania were, no doubt, because he had not compelled Fabius to give battle, and Capua had not revolted to him as he had hoped.—*Calliculam*. This mountain-range, mentioned only in this place, seems to be the one to the north of the *ager Falernus*, separating it from Samnium. Fabius, by occupying the only pass available for an army on this range, and Casilinum, which commanded the bridge over the unfordable Vulturnus, while the majority of his army was guarding Mons Massicus, and every road to Latium, hoped to catch Hannibal in a trap.—*dirempta*, "cut in two." One-half of Casilinum was on the left bank, and the other half on the right bank of the Vulturnus. This seeming an unnatural mode of proceeding, *dirempta* is used; while a less violent division is denoted by *dividit*, immediately afterwards.—*jugis iisdem*, &c., "he leads back his army along the same heights," to Mons Massicus (c. 14), in order to surround Hannibal.—*fatigatione*, &c. = *fatigatis equis atque hominibus*, the abstract being put for the concrete.—*teli* is often put collectively for *telorum*.—*avertisset*, i. e., *in fugam*.—*Tarracinam*. This town, now called Terracina, was a city of the Volscians, by whom it was called Anxur. It is situated on the sea-coast, near the border-line between the States of the Church and the kingdom of Naples.—*super Tarracinam*. See Livy, vii. 39: "Cohors una, quum haud procul Anxure esset, ad Lautulas, saltu angusto inter mare ac montes consedit."—*Appiæ*, sc. *viæ*.—*limite* here stands for "the line."—*viam* is the pass over the mountain-range of Callicula. If Fabius and Minucius did occupy the pass with their whole armies, as Livy says they did, they must have been very bad generals; for they would then have left the road to Latium open, and Hannibal would not have needed to invent any stratagem to extricate himself from his perilous position. Polybius (iii. 92) gives the true position of Fabius, as it has been already described: Ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς διεκβολῆς περὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἐπέστησε, παρακαλέσας χρήσασθαι τῇ προθυμίᾳ σὺν καιρῷ, μετὰ τῆς τῶν τόπων εὐφυΐας· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἔχων τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπί τινα λόφον ὑπερβέξιον πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

XVI. Hannibal, finding himself shut in, has recourse to stratagem—*carptim*, "desultorily," is explained by the subsequent *procursando recipiendoque sese*.—*restitit* . . *ut*, i. e., "Romani impetum hostium ita

prohibuerunt ut se loco non moverent." Al.—*inter . . . silvas.* Even more than the extreme limits of Hannibal's position are marked out here; for *Formiæ* (now Mola di Gaëta) on the Appian road, in Latium, was guarded by Fabius's position on Mons Massicus; and *Liternum* (now Torre di Patria), situated near the unhealthy marsh called *Literna palus*, was cut off by the deep waters of the Vulturnus.—*conlectæ = conlectæ sunt.*—*accensis cornibus. Cornibus* must mean "what was fastened to their horns."

xvii. The success of Hannibal's stratagem.—*aliquanto ante* &c., because they had to be driven to the tops of the mountains, before the army could hope to find the pass undefended.—*in adversos . . . montes*, "up the mountains."—*qui . . . erant.* Livy had said in chapter xv. that Fabius and Minucius had both occupied the pass with their whole forces. Here he goes back to his Polybius (iii. 94), where he finds *οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς στενοῖς φυλάττοντες.* The whole army could not very well have run away; so he drops his former statement as inconvenient.—*præsidio*, "the pass they were set to guard."—*minime densæ*, "least thick;" not "by no means thick," as it would ordinarily mean.—*cum majore* &c. Some editions have *dum*; but "conjunctione *dum* hoc loco Livius uti non potuit, quod non de duabus rebus, quæ essent eodem tempore factæ, referendum erat." Al.—*neutros pugnam incipientes* is short for "*utrosque pugnam non incipientes.*"

xviii. Fabius being obliged to go to Rome, entreats Minucius to follow his instructions.—*ab suis*, i.e. from the Carthaginians.—*pervenisset*, "had appeared at the right time."—*ac leviorque.* See the note on *et concessumque*, c. xii. But?—*super Allifas* must be translated with *consedit*, not with *transgressus.* Fabius's object being to keep between Hannibal and Latium, he moved in a direction parallel to Hannibal's line of march. *Allifas*, now *Alife*, a city of Samnium on the Vulturnus.—*Gereoniam*, a small town in the north-west corner of Apulia, and a few miles south of *Larinum*, now *Larino Vecchio.*—*prope præcibus agens.* Papirius Cursor acted in a very different manner towards his disobedient master of the horse. See viii. 32.—*censeret.* The tense changes here from the present-imperfect to the past-imperfect, because the *oratio obliqua* commences here. The preceding verbs *confidat* and *imitetur* are governed by *ut.*—*ab . . . . .cludibus*, "after," &c.

xix. Cn. Scipio in Spain destroys a Carthaginian fleet.—*Principio æstatis*; i.e. about the time of the battle of Trasumennus.—*quadraginta.* See xxi. 22.—*navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat.* This is an instance of the grammatical figure called *Zeugma. Ducebat*, which applies very well to the latter words of the sentence, does not apply very well to the former words, *navibus prope terram.* We must therefore suppose some such verb as *vehebatur* to be implied in *ducebat*, and translate, "he sailed in his fleet near the land, and led his army along the shore."—*quacumque.* As there were only two kinds of force, *utra* would have been more usual.—*speculatoriæ*, i.e. *navæ.*—*universo simul effuso terrore*, "by pouring out upon them the whole terror of his means of attack at once."—*oris*, "stern-cables." "Duplici vinculo tenebantur naves, *anchoralibus*, ad ancoras alligata prora, puppi vero *oris*, i.e. rudentibus ad retinacula, quæ erant in portu seu litore. Statuebant enim plerumque ita naves, ut puppi in litus versa, prora altum spectaret. Resolutis igitur oris, necdum levatis ancoris, naves in ancoras evehi necesse erat." *Stroth.*—*cum . . . evecherentur.* Gronovius proposes *evehuntur* in consequence of the following *incidunt.* This conjecture makes the whole passage easy enough. If, however, *eveherentur* is to be retained, *vixdum omnes conscenderant* must be supposed to be closely joined with *Et jam*

Romanus non adpropinquabat modo &c., and all the intermediate words looked upon as in a parenthesis, detached in construction from what precedes and what follows: "(Whilst some were fouling against their anchors, because they had loosened the stern-cables, before they had weighed anchor, others were busy cutting &c. . . . and the soldiers were prevented by the bustle of the sailors from getting and fitting on their arms.)" So Alschefski.—*prohibentur* agrees with the collective noun *miles*, a construction to which Livy is partial.—*atque*, "and so."—*suppressæ*, "sunk."

xx. The results of this naval victory.—*Onusam*. This place is not mentioned elsewhere; but probably is the same as Joyosa, on the sea-coast of Valencia.—*injuncta muro* must mean "*touching* the wall."—*Longunticam*. This place is not elsewhere mentioned; but it must have been near Carthagena, from its proximity to the plains lying very near Carthagena, where alone the *spartum* grows. See Pliny, N. H. xix. 2: "Complectatur animo, qui volet miraculum æstimare, quanto sit in usu (spartum) omnibus terris navium armamentis, machinis ædificationum aliisque desideriis vitæ. Ad hos omnes usus quæ sufficiant minus triginta millia passuum in longitudinem a litore Carthaginis novæ minusque centum in longitudinem reperientur."—*spgrti*. This plant (see Liddell and Scott in v. *σπάρτος*) is either *Lygeum spartum* or *Stipa tenacissima*, Linn. They both grow in Spain and are still called *esparto*. *Ebusum* now *Iviza*. It had a city of the same name.—*majore præda*. This was probably not the case. The island was by no means fertile.—*facti sint*. *Qui* has here the signification of *tales ut*, and is therefore followed by the subjunctive.—*saltum Castulonensem*, the chain of mountains on the north side of the Guadalquivir, so called from Castulo, now Cazlona, the chief city of the Oretani.—*Lusitaniam*. It is not likely that Hasdrubal retreated so far, and gave up all Spain to the Romans without a battle.

xxi. The Ilergetes attack the Romans, and the Celtiberi the Carthaginians.—*pe*, "as far as concerned."—*Mandonius* was the brother of Indebilis. See xxvi. 49.—*fuerat*, "had been;" probably before the Romans turned him out.—*ut . . . manum*, "as being but a tumultuary band."—*Lergavonensium* is in some manuscripts written *Ilercaonensium*. So in Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 60., the manuscripts vary between *Lurgavonenses* and *Illurgavonenses*. The tribe dwelt along the sea-coast just south of the Ebro.—*Novam classem*, "New Fleet," probably a little north of Tarraco, the modern Tarragona.—*legatos obsidesque dederant*. This is a rather harsh instance of *zeugma*. Ambassadors cannot well be said to be given, though hostages may. Hence we must supply a word from *dederant* which will apply to *legatos*. "They *had sent* ambassadors, and given hostages."—*pugnant . . . occiderunt . . . capiunt*. This rapid change of tenses is, as we have seen, very common in Livy.

xxii. P. Scipio arrives in Spain. Abelux betrays the Spanish hostages in ward at Saguntum to the Romans.—*prorogato . . imperio*. That is, he became Proconsul.—*triginta*. Polybius (iii. 97.) says "*twenty*."—*nec ullo* = *et nullo*.—*traditos ab Hannibale*, i.e. "Hasdrubali eisque ducibus quos Hispaniæ præfecisset." Al.—*ad hostes* if taken with *venientem* will be "coming *to the enemy*;" if taken with *esse* will be "was *in the eyes of the enemy*."—*unum &c.* "only one single worthless and dishonourable creature more."—*quæ fortuna potestatis ejus facere posset*. We should have expected *potestatis suæ facere posset*. i.e. every thing that Abelux himself *thought* fortune had put in his power." Livy however speaks objectively, "every thing that fortune *had really* put in his power.—*obsidium*, for the

commoner form *obsidum*, is taken from a crude form *obsidi*. This is not uncommon in the *Codex Puteanus*.—*ex ea parte* i.e. "from the sea;" because the Romans had at this time an overwhelming fleet.—*abessent*. The use of the subjunctive shows that Abelux insinuates that he has ha this reason given him by some of his countrymen.—*nomen*, "influence." —*ad cetera Punica ingenia* "in proportion to the usual cunning of the Carthaginians."—*Scipionem* i.e. Publius Scipio, the late consul.—*exprimit*, "says shortly." The common reading *expromit* gives rather the notion of an unhurried statement.—*per eundem*, "by Abelux."—*ordine quo*, "in the same way in which they would have been done."—i.e. after *quo* we must supply *acta forent*.—*futura . . . fuerat*. In such a periphrasis with the future participle and the tenses of the verb *sum*, to express what was to have been done in a certain case which after all never occurred, the indicative is always employed. See Livy xxxviii. 47. *Quos ego, si tribuni me triumphare prohiberent, testes citaturus fui rerum a me gestarum.*—*graves, superbos* is more forcible than *graves superbosque*.—*incognitus ante*, "unknown before;" that is, by all except the tribes dwelling on the sea-coast to the north of the Ebro.—*videbatur*, "seemed to the Spaniards."—*quoque*, "as well as the Spaniards."

xxiii. Hannibal's stratagem to increase Fabius's unpopularity at Rome. Fabius's noble conduct.—*quoque*, is rather awkward. It would seem to refer back to the general meaning of the opening sentence of c. xix. "In Spain, also, as well as in Italy, there was war." *militiæ magistrum*. So *magister equitum; magister morum*.—*prospero*, "having any real influence on the issue of the war.—*postquam . . . fuerat*. The pluperfect, in most writers, rarely follows *postquam*, unless it is intended to denote that the event referred to has happened after the lapse of some time. Livy, however, is an exception to this rule.—*dubio*, "capable of a twofold interpretation." *in eo*, i. e. *facto*.—*argenti, &c.*, two pounds and a-half of silver a-piece, "qui sunt mille sestertii, sive unum sestertium."—*rogaretur*, "was being brought forward," the reading of the manuscripts is changed by some editors into *erogaretur*, "was being paid." But Plutarch, Fab. Max. c. 7., expressly says, that the money was absolutely refused by the senate; a statement which the reading *rogaretur* will coincide with.—*fidemque publicam*, "Quod reipublicæ nomine debebatur hostibus, privata sua pecunia exsolvit. Crev.—*duas partes*, "two thirds."

xxiv. Minucius gains some slight successes during the absence of Fabius.—*ad urbem*, "towards the city."—*in monte alto*. Polybius (iii. 101) calls it Καλήλη.—*quod minime quis crederet*. The next words give the reason why Hannibal's conduct seems scarcely credible. Now that they were so near that a battle seemed imminent, it was extremely daring to let even *one* third go out to collect supplies.—*propior*, "yet nearer than the one just mentioned."—*jecissent* is stronger than the common *dejecissent*, according to Alsch., who sticks to his manuscript through thick and thin. So, in German, the simple verb *werfen*, means "to defeat."—*Exiguum spatii*. So xxvii. 27, "*Exiguum campi ante castra erat.*" . . . *per aversa castra*, "*Per aversa castra* significare per decumanam castrorum portam, quæ aversissima ab hostium castris erat neminem fefellerit."—Alsch. The gate nearest to the enemy was *porta prætoria*.—*tanta paucitate*, because so many soldiers were away seeking supplies for winter consumption.—*artibus Fabiis*, "with all a Fabius's prudence."—*pars . . . jam fame*, "a part of the army was now mostly absent."—*cunctando* alludes, perhaps, to the name *Cunctator* given to Fabius.—*quidam auctores sunt:* Among these would not be Fabius Pictor, but those to whom the Fabian house was un-

popular. Polybius also does not make mention of a "pitched battle."—*Numeri Decimi*, i. e. "of Numerius Decimius."—*parti utriusque*, "to a part of each army." What Alsch. says, that the division of Numerius Decimius could not be seen by the whole of either army, is true, in fact. But it does not follow that therefore *parti utriusque* is better than *parti utrique*, "to both sides." *A priori*, it is more likely that Livy wrote the latter.

XXV. The speech of the tribune Metellus, against Fabius, stirs up Terentius Varro against him.—*in contione*, in the assembly of the people. —*enim*. Here, as in all similar instances, there is a kind of ellipse, which has to be supplied from the context. "I felt inclined to speak against Fabius," we may suppose the tribune to be saying "even before. But now that he is trying to bring discredit on the master of the horse, I can be silent no longer. *For* this is, indeed, intolerable . . . . &c."—*in ducendo bello ac sedulo*, "in lengthening out the war, and that too of set purpose."—*quo diutius, &c.*; as if he had been selected dictator only to hold the *comitia* for the election of another consul.—*quorum* depends on *neutra provincia*, as may be best seen by resolving *quorum* into its equivalent, *quum eorum*; "Since neither of the provinces belonging to them (i.e. the two prætors), at this time stands in need of a prætor."—*in custodiam*, for the commoner *in custodia*. The former expression may have been used, as Alsch. suggests, because the latter would have been too strong an expression for the circumstances of the case; but, after *esse* and *habere*, *in* sometimes does take the accusative, without any perceptible difference of meaning, e. g. "in potestatem populi Romani esse;" "habere in potestatem." Madvig attributes this (§ 230) to an inaccuracy of pronunciation, where the distinction between the accusative and the ablative rested on the single letter *m*; adding, as a proof, that we never find such expressions as *in imperium esse*, or *in vincula habere*. And, indeed, we have a proof that a final *m* was very lightly sounded in the facility with which it was elided in verse,—*sed* is not followed by *et* or *etiam*, to show that greater stress is laid on the devastation of the rich plains of Campania, &c., than on that of the comparatively sterile mountains of Samnium—*sedenti*. This form for the ablative is very rare indeed in the ablative absolute. As *tutante* follows it, it is probable that the termination of the next word, *Casilini*, caused the substitution of *i* for *e* by the copyist.—*ut*, "as soon as."—*ut*, "as if."—*abrogando*. It must be remembered that Fabius was only a pro-dictator, not a regularly appointed dictator. Hence, there were fewer scruples felt about meddling with his appointment. The fact that his *magister equitum* was chosen for him, instead of the choice having been left, in accordance with precedent, in his hands, shows that the difference was felt from the very first, before any invidious feelings could have risen up against him personally.—*nec tamen ne ita quidem*. These two negatives do not destroy each other. *Nec* belongs to the whole proposition; while *ne ita quidem*, "not even in that case," gives a prominence to a particular part of it; *in actione, &c.*, "not having the gift of popularly addressing the people."—*sit* and *sciant* are in the present imperfect, because they depend on *effecturum*.—*bono imperatore*, "when the general is good."—*momenti*, "of importance."—"*in tempore*," "at a critical period."—*ad suadendum*, "to recommend the bill."—*auctoritas*, "the support of men of weight."—*Terentius Varro*. The way the poor man is introduced is a sufficient indication of Livy's political and social bias.—*institorem*, "a huckster." Retail butchers were, of course, not so dignified as carcase-butchers. See Cicero Off. I. 42: "*Sordidi etiam putandi qui mercantur*

a mercatoribus quod statim vendant; nihil enim proficiunt, nisi admodum mentiantur.—hoc ipso should be made to agree with *ministerio*, rather than with *filio*.

xxvi. Terentius Varro's past career.—*animos fecit*, "had given him the spirit to aspire."—*liberalioris*, "more worthy of a free man."—*toga*. The *toga* (from *tegere*, to cover) though, originally, the distinctive dress of the Romans, gradually was left off, more or less, by the poorer classes on account of its expense, and so became distinctive of the upper classes and of those who figured in the courts of law, &c. The common people, on the other hand, often wore the *tunic* alone, and hence were in contempt called *tunicati*. See Hor. Ep. i. vii. 65. "Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello."—*proclamando*, "by bawling." "Consulto utitur verbo minus decoro per contemptum clamosum notaturo et vociferatorem, non oratorem." Bauer.—*ad honores*, "to posts of minor dignity," such as, that of *quinquevir, tribunus plebis*, &c.—*quoque*, refers to the minor offices just mentioned. *quæstura*. The quæstorship was the office which the young patricians used to begin public life with. Varro, as a plebeian, could not have aimed so high, till he had become known. The other offices are mentioned in an ascending order according to their relative dignity and importance.—*haud parum callide*, "with uncommon shrewdness."—*scitique plebis = plebiscitique.—sævientem* by hypallage for *sævientis.—litteris, &c.* "the letter containing the decree of the senate concerning," &c. The *plebiscitum* would have been sufficient to settle the matter without any *senatusconsultum*; but, says Gronovius, "Quum post leges Horatiam et Hortensiam plebiscita populum tenerent, Patres, ut eluderent plebis auctoritatem, plebiscita senatusconsultis confirmare soliti erant."

xxvii. Fabius and Minucius divide the army between them, in consequence of the decision of the senate and people.—*tantum=tantopere.—ergo secuturumque* can only mean "therefore he would also follow," &c. But the *que* probably means that some such word as *non defuturum* has been dropped.—*cunctationi=cunctatione.—deorum*, "of the Gods," because they had enabled him to defeat Hannibal; and *hominum*, "of men," because the people had put him on a level with the dictator.—*partitis temporibus*, "in equally divided periods of a longer duration." *enim* is put in an unusual position to give greater prominence to *fortunam.—cum alio*, a contemptuous way of saying "with him."—*se nunquam . . . cessurum* = "se numquam sponte cessurum parte rerum consilio gerendarum, qua posset res consilio gerere."—*mos est*. The indicative shows that this clause is spoken by Livy in his own person. If he had intended to put it in Fabius's mouth, he would have written *esset*.

xxviii. Battle between Hannibal and Minucius.—*liberam*, "free from the restrictions Fabius would have imposed on it."—*suo modo*, "in whatever way he might choose."—*non modo=non modo non*. See notes on c. iii.—*egressi=si quis egressus esset*. Hence the use of *alicujus* in spite of the preceding negative *necubi*. The negative does not apply to *alicujus—vanis animis*, "with empty presumption." *dimittit*, "he sends off." There is no reason for altering this into *emittit*, or expunging it.—*ut crescente certamine*, "as was natural in a contest which was growing fiercer every moment."—*prima . . . intulit*, "was the first to strike, &c."—*si justa ac si recta. Justa pugna*, "a regular pitched battle," is opposed to *tumultuaria; recta pugna*, "a battle where foe meets foe front to front," is opposed to *insidiæ, &c.—prospere* qualifies *gesta*, but precedes it for the sake of emphasis.

xxix. Minucius is rescued by Fabius, and acknowledges his own inferiority.

—*Ita est*; "So it is," i. e., "Just what I expected has happened."—*magna ex parte* qualifies both *cœsis aliis* and *aliis circumspectantibus*.—*volventes orbem*, "forming a circle." Orbem colligere (*or* volvere) dicuntur milites, qui ab hostibus undique cincti frontem in omnes faciunt partes, et hostibus quaquaversum obvertunt, ut ab omnibus partibus et in omnes pugnent. Ruperti.—*Pœnus . . . Hannibale.* Livy uses *Pœnus* for *Hannibal*, as representing his whole army. Hence, the introduction of *Hannibal*, as the individual, afterwards with an ablative absolute, as if a fresh subject had been introduced.—*cum primum, &c.* This is an allusion to the well-known lines of Hesiod ἔργ. καὶ ἡμ. 293, sq.

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ,
φρασσάμενος τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἧσιν ἀμείνω·
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

—*contulerimus, &c.*, "let us collect our standards before his prætorium, as a sign that henceforth his power is to be supreme over all alike." Livy is, as we have seen, fond of varying the tenses of verbs which are connected together. So we have here the present imperfect and present perfect subjunctive connected together without any corresponding difference of meaning.

XXX. Minucius and his soldiers return to Fabius's camp.—*inde* may may be taken either with *conclamatur* or *colligantur*. In the first case the sense would be "At a given signal, *then* came the call, &c.;" in the second case, "there came the call to pack up the luggage and march *thence*." —*Profecti . . . castra*, "after they had set out, and as they were entering in marching order the camp of the dictator."—*militum* is the partitive gen. after *circumfusos*.—*ejus*, i. e., *Fabii* depends on *militum*.—*totum agmen*, "Minucius's whole army"—*modo*, "just now."—*possum*, i. e., *æquare*.—*antiquo* is literally, "I bring back a thing to the state in which it was before (*ante*);" i. e., "I reject."—*abrogo*, "I repeal," is added to correct *antiquo*, because *antiquo* cannot properly be said of a law that has already passed.—*magisterio*, "mastership."—*tenebri=retineri*.—*sentire*, i. e., "*Hannibal and his army* began to perceive."—*biennio ante*, "during the two previous years," though the two years were not yet over.—*terribilem eam famam*, "so terrible a report." *Eam* is admissible in consequence of its being in the *oratio obliqua*. In the *oratio recta* it would be *hanc* or *illam*.

XXXI. The Consul Servilius is unsuccessful on the coast of Africa. Fabius was pro-dictator, not dictator. *centum viginti* is restored out of Polybius III. 96.—*utrimque* is used in a strange sense; "from both places" i. e., "from both Sardinia and Corsica"—*Menige*. The island Meninx, as it is usually spelt, now Jerbah, lies near the southern extremity of the Syrtis Minor, now the Gulf of Cabes. It was celebrated for being the abode of the "dreamy lotus-eaters;" and it still bears the "lotus Zizyphus," a tree-fruit, like beans. Smith's Dict. of Geog.—*Cercinam*, now Karkenah or Ramlah, lies to the western extremity of the Gulf of Cabes.—*juxta . . . ac si*, "just as if."—*insulis* is governed by *in* understood.—*amisso* applies to *ad mille* as well as to *quæstore*, but is attracted into the singular number from its proximity to *quæstore*.—*pedibus* = "terrestri itinere."—*et ipse et, &c.*, "that is to say, both he and his colleague," &c.—*Servilius*, i. e., the army of Fabius, and the army of Minucius—*semestri*. The period

of six months was the longest for which a dictator was appointed, though sometimes his power was by special permission prolonged in grave emergencies beyond this time.—*primum . . . creatum, was the first who was created.—quam moram . . . esset.* The whole of this clause is independent of *fugit*, and therefore we find *decursum est* instead of *decursum esse*, probably in order to put prominently forward that what he here states is a fact. The next clause, on the contrary, *res inde gestas . . . . obtinuisse* is dependent on *fugit.—pro dictatore*, i. e., *esset.—titulum imaginis.* In Roman funerals the waxen images of those ancestors who had held any curule office, were carried before the corpse, with the titles, honours, and crowns, gained by each ancestor, blazoned on the image that represented him. *obtinuisse*, "had been the cause."

xxxii. The Consuls imitate Fabius's mode of carrying on the war. The Neapolitans offer pecuniary aid to the Romans.—*summa . . . concordia*, i. e., not differing like Scipio and Sempronius, or like Fabius and Minucius, as to how they ought to act.—*in casum, &c.*, "to the uncertain issue of a pitched battle."—*inopiæ est=inopiæ est.* *Inopiæ* is the genitive dependent on *adeo.—nisi cum . . . fuisset*, literally, "unless departing had been for him with the appearance of flight," that is, "had it not been that his departure would inevitably have borne the semblance of flight."—*Galliam*, i. e., *Galliam Cisalpinam*, Lombardy.—*constitisset*, "had come to a stand."—*Neapolitani*, the people of Neapolis, now Napoli, or Naples. They had been so liberally dealt with by the Romans (see Livy, viii. 26), that they were much attached to them.—*scire re . . . exhauriri*, "that they knew, by experience, that a people's treasury soon became exhausted by war," being a general proposition, applicable to any people, is more complimentary and delicate, as well as in stricter accordance with the manuscripts than the common reading, *scire sese Romani populi, &c.—geratur*, i. e., *bellum*, to be supplied from *bello* in the previous clause.—*ad subsidium fortunæ*, "for a resource under adverse circumstances."—*crederent* means more than *credidissent*, as it includes the time during which the ambassadors were speaking.—*duxissent . . . judicaverint.* The former of these is in the tense in which it would be in the *oratio obliqua*, the latter in the tense in which it would be in the *oratio recta.* This alteration in the tense of the verb seems to be to show that the special object of the Neapolitans is contained in the clause in which the future perfect occurs. Moreover, as Alsch. remarks, *judicaverint* is more modest, because more doubtful, than *judicarent.*

xxxiii. A spy is caught and punished. Ambassadors are sent in various directions.—*in crucem.* This was the regular mode of executing slaves.—*æris gravis.* It has already been said that the ases were not reckoned by tale but by weight. Hence though they were constantly being reduced in weight, the old and the new ases could all circulate together. *Demetrium.* This man, when the Romans entered upon a war with Queen Teuta, for refusing to put a stop to her piratical depredations, 525 A. U. C., joined the Romans against her, and got as his share a large portion of her territory. Soon after, relying on the assistance of Philip of Macedon, he quarrelled with the Romans, and was utterly defeated, and stripped of his territories by L. Aemilius, 535, A. U. C.—*Pharium*, of Pharos, now Hvar, or Lesina, an island off the coast of Illyricum, the modern Dalmatia.—*Boiis*, a Gallic tribe, bitterly hostile to the Romans, occupying the districts of Parma, Modena, and Bologna.—*Pineum.* Pineus was the son of Agron, King of Illyricum, by Triteuta, his first wife. When Teuta, his second wife, and Demetrius, who had married Triteuta after Agron had

divorced her, had been successively driven away by the Romans, Pineus was put on the throne, on condition that he should pay them a certain fixed tribute.—*in Illyrios.* See note in xxi. 49 on *Messanam in portum.* —*cujus dies exierat*, "the term for the payment of which had expired." —*diem proferre*, "to put off the day of payment."—*in cervicibus.* We should say "on their shoulders."—*longinqua* agrees with *cura* by hypallage for *longinquæ* agreeing with *rei.*—*per seditionem*, "during a mutiny." —*biennio ante.* It will be seen by referring to xxi. 17, 25, that L. Manlius was prætor the year before (*anno ante*), not two years before. Livy must, therefore, be taking into account here the year on which he is just entering.—*quam jussisset*, i. e. *in quam jussissent.*—*locatam*, "put out to be built by contract."—M'. = Manium.—*vitio* = *contra auspicia.*

xxxiv. C. Terentius Varro is a candidate for the consulship. The tribune Bæbius speaks in his favour.—*a patribus.* The senate alone could appoint an *interrex.*—*sui generis*, i. e., *plebeii generis.*—*insectationi* is the abl. This form, as we have seen, occurs frequently in the manuscripts, but most editors silently change it into the form ending in *e.*—*ab*, "in consequence of."—*concusso* belongs to *opibus* as well as to *imperio*, but is attracted to agree with the nearer word.—So *amisso* in sec. 31.—*aliena invidia*, "in consequence of the odium he had contrived to draw down on Fabius."—*et extrahere ad consulatum*, "even to pull out of the mud of his sordid origin to the pinnacle of the consulship." i. e., *ad* belongs to the whole expression, and not to *ad consulatum* only.—*universi*, "joined and acting together."—*hominem novum*, a man who had no images of his ancestors to show, because none of them had ever held a curule office.—*plebeios nobiles*, men of plebeian extraction, whose ancestors *had* held curule offices.—*initiatos esse sacris*, "had been initiated in the same sacred lore," and hence learnt to consider themselves as belonging to a higher, because a sacred, caste than the unconsecrated, and therefore unholy, commons.—*ex quo* i. e., *tempore.*—*patribus* "among the patricians." The dative of the agent is not used except when the action done by the agent is for his own interest, or when it exists for him as something permanent and complete.—*invitis iis*, i. e., *consulibus.*—*expugnatum esse*, "that it had been wrung out of them, as if by a *coup de main.*"—*vitiosus* = *vitio creatus.*—*populum* is here pretty nearly equivalent to *plebem.*—*liberum habiturum*, "will keep it for themselves without any restriction as to to whom it shall, or shall not, be given."—*qui . . . . malit*, "who would far rather gain a decisive victory than remain a long time at the head of affairs." For the pleonasm in *magis . . . . malit*, compare Cic. in Q. Cæc. Div. 6. "Qui se ab omnibus desertos potius, quam abs te defensos esse malunt."

xxxv. The elections of the Consuls and Prætors.—*jam* qualifies *nobilibus*, "who had already attained to the rank of nobles, though of plebeian extraction."—*unus.* None of the patrician candidates got the requisite number of votes to have the majority in any one tribe.—*rogando conlegæ*, "for electing his colleague." As the magistrate who presided over the elections had to ask (*rogare*), the citizens "Velitis, Jubeatis, Quirites?" in the case of the election of each officer, *rogare magistratus* came to mean *to elect magistrates.*—*L. Æmilium Paulum.* He had been consul with M. Livius Salinator the year before the breaking out of this war, and in that capacity had defeated Demetrius of Pharos, and driven him to seek refuge in the court of Philip, King of Macedon. Though he gained a triumph, he and his colleagues were brought to trial for misappropriation of the spoil. His colleague was condemned; and he himself only just escaped a similar sentence. This election of Æmilius twice in the space of

four years was against the law which declared that no one should be twice consul within the space of ten years. But this law (see Livy xxvii. 6), had been suspended, immediately after the defeat and death of C. Flaminius at Trasymennus, for the time of Hannibal's continuance in Italy.—*prope* qualifies *sua damnatione* and has almost the force of an adjective.—*ambustus evaserat* "had got off, but not without being severely scorched."—*proximo comitali die*, "on the first day on which an assembly could be held for the purpose, after Terentius Varro had entered on his office."—*par magis, &c.* "rather as one clothed with equal power to oppose him, than &c."—*prætoria comitia*. They were always held directly after the consular comitia. But Livy has forgotten to record the prætors for the two preceding years.—*juri dicundo* is the dative of destination to an office. Madv. § 415.—*urbana* = "in urbe inter cives." Weiss. Philus then became *prætor urbanus*, and Pomponius became *prætor peregrinus*.

xxxvi. Preparations for the campaign. Fresh prodigies.—*quantæ . . . additæ sunt*, if simply dependent on *variant*, would have to be written *quantæ . . . additæ sint*. The only way of explaining the indicative is to suppose with Alsch. that it is equivalent to "*quot autem pedilum equitumque copias additas esse dicunt*," a specific statement which would not require a subjunctive. But *additæ sint* would be much better.—*alii . . . . alii;* the predicate to these words must be supplied either from the preceding *variant*, or the subsequent and somewhat distant *auctores sunt.*—*pediti æquarent* = "*peditii Romano æquarent suos pedites.*" i. e., *peditum Romanorum numero æquarent suorum peditum numerum.* Alsch.—*septem et octoginta millia, &c.* This number is thus made up. As there were 8 Roman legions, each containing 5000 foot and 300 horse, and the allies supplied an equal number of foot and twice as many horse, 8 × 5300 + 8 × 5600 = 87,200.—*quidam.* Some editors wish to substitute *iidem.* But no alteration is needed, as the information given by the *quidam auctores* begins at *Numero quoque, &c.*, and goes down to the end of the sentence.—*Ariciæ*, now La Riccia, a town of Latium, about 16 miles from Rome, on the *via Appia.*—*fonte calido* is the ablative absolute "although the spring was a warm one."—*Fornicatæ*, "arched."—*Campum*, "the Campus Martius."—*Pæsto*, now Pesto, a little south of the Silarus, in Lucania. This, too, like Neapolis, was a Greek city; and the good-will shown by both cities would tend to prove that the Romans already felt that respect for all that was Greek, which they afterwards so signally manifested.

xxxvii. Hiero sends his ambassadors with presents to Rome.—*Ostia*, still retaining the same name, was the port and naval station of Rome, from which it was distant about 16 miles. It is sometimes *f.* of the first, sometimes *n.* of the second declension.—*sua propria*, "affecting himself personally." In the whole of the beginning of the speech Livy supposes Hiero to be himself speaking by the mouth of his ambassadors, so that *sua, se*, &c., refer to Hiero. Then *sese* the subject to *adferre* and *advexisse* means "the ambassadors," and afterwards with *scire, vidisse &c.*, the subject again is Hiero.—*Milite=pedite.*—*mille* is here used as a singular substantive governing the genitive. See note on xxi. 61.—*missile* is an old form of the ablative for *missili.*—*gratia rei*, "the kind feeling evinced by the act."—*ad † navium classem.* The number of ships has been omitted through the carelessness of transcribers. Titus Otacilius had at one time 180 ships under his command, but he had since that time been ordered to take them to Rome; so that it is uncertain whether he still had all these under his command, at the time spoken of, or not.—*trajicerent*, if right, has an indefinite subject, something like the French *on*, or the Ger-

man *man:* "that they should, *i. e.*, that T. Otacilius and his men should, cross over," &c. But Livy probably wrote *trajiceret.*

xxxviii. The soldiers are bound by an oath.—*jurejurando.* The *sacramentum*, or voluntary declaration, accompanied with imprecations in case of non-fulfilment, was now enlarged by the introduction of a fresh statement, and ratified by a compulsory oath, or *jusjurandum*, before the tribunes of the soldiers, that they would assemble at the bidding of the consuls, and not depart unbidden. The words of the *sacramentum* are given in the next sentence.—*ad decuriatum aut centuriatum = ad decuriandum aut centuriandum*, "in order to form themselves into decuries and centuries."—*conjurabant = una jurabant.* One soldier used to repeat the declaration and the others say, one after another, *idem in me.*—*ergo* is used only in old forms like this, or in antiquated style generally, as a preposition.—*sumendi aut petendi. Sumere* might be said with respect to those weapons which are near at hand, *petere* with respect to those which were to be sought in the enemy's' ranks.—*feriendi* is an old expression for "of wounding."—*perfecturum*, i. e., *bellum.*—*quodne*, the reading of the manuscripts gives but poor sense. Valla conjectures *quomodo.*—*qui dux = aliqui dux* or *aliquis dux.*—*dent* by its change of tense introduces a general sentiment applicable to all times.—*ante tempus inmaturam*, "which must appear immature before the time."—*ad id locorum*, "up to that time." *Id* is explained by the clause *tuta . . . . præpositurum*, which is in apposition to it.—*id perseveraret*, "should persevere in it." *In eo* would be more usual.

xxxix. Fabius encourages Æmilius to adopt the plan which he himself had found so efficacious against Hannibal.—*duo boni consules*, "if you were," &c.—*me indicente = me non dicente.*—*fide vestra* is governed by the preceding *e.*—*mali*, "if bad."—*claudet*, "shall be lame," is the future tense from *claudĕre.*—*idem juris*, "the same authority."—*Ominis*, &c. "Moreover, I would gladly not allude to Flaminius at all, by reason of the evil omen that attaches to all mention of him."—*furere . . . . insanit.* The former is used of a brief and violent outbreak, the latter of a settled, though not necessarily violent, perversion of the faculties. See Cic. Tusc. Quæst. III., 5, 11. "*Quod cum majus esse videatur quam insania, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania.*"—*adversus unum*, "before one man," i. e., *Æmilius*, or "against, at the expense of, one man," i. e. *Terentius.*—*ut . . . . excesserim*, "so that I had rather go beyond the mean in, &c."—*stultorum*, "only of fools."—*quamdiu . . . . mœnibus.* In consequence of an aposiopesis the sentence is left unfinished.—*laborare*, "*be eclipsed.*" So Virg. G. II., 478. "Defectus solis varios, lunæque labores."—*nec ego . . . .* Supply *moneo* or *suadeo* out of the previous *malo.*—*ut nihil* is evidently more suitable here than *ne quid.*—*sint* belongs to *tu* also, but is attracted to agree with the nearer *tua omnia.* The meaning is equivalent to, "Mould your circumstances, and do not let your circumstances mould you."

xl. Æmilius's despairing answer. Hannibal's difficulties.—*magis* is put out of its ordinary place for the sake of emphasis.—*Ab hoc sermone*, "Immediately after this speech."—*turba*, &c., "greater to the eye in consequence of the multitude of persons who escorted, though men of dignity and position were wanting."—*in castra*, near Gereonium, according to Livy (c. xliv); but according to Polybius (See notes on c. xii), near Cannæ, which, as yet untaken by Hannibal, contained the Roman stores. —*consulum* is the partitive genitive dependent on *Atilium* and *Servilium.* —*omnibus* is the dative of the agent. *Omni* would be better if it were

supported by the manuscripts.—*transitio*, "desertion."—*parata fuerit*. This tense, as often in Livy, is used here after the past tense *erat*, because in an independent sentence it would run thus. *Transitio parata fuit, si maturitas . . . . foret.*

xli. The Romans being unduly elated at having slaughtered some Carthaginian foragers, Hannibal contrives an ambuscade.—*ac procursu, &c.*, is an explanation of *tumultuario prœlio*.—*alternis* i. e. *diebus* to be supplied from the preceding *eo die*.—*insidiis, &c.* Polybius does not mention this ambuscade of Hannibal's at all. Indeed it hardly falls in with his account of the state of things.—*impedimenta, &c.* = "*impedimenta ita traduct per convallem, ut medio in loco inter pedites equitesque essent.*"—*in locis*, "where they were."

xlii. Hannibal's design is discovered.—*fecit* is the predicate of *stationes* as well as of *silentium*, but agrees with the nearer subject.—*prætoria*. There were *two*, one for each consul, in that part of the double camp belonging to each.—*nuntiantium* "of men announcing."—*reliquerint* is in the same tense in which it would have been in the *oratio recta*.—*præfectum*, i. e. *turmæ*.—*vel objectum*. *Vel* is here nearly equivalent to *velut*, "as it were." So in c. 44, we have "vel usu cepisset Italiam."—*Varro signum dedit*, because it was his turn to command that day.—*auspicio*, "with respect to auspices," or else, "by means of the auspices they gave." Alsch. takes it to be the dative, "for a good auspice." Whichever way it be taken, its conjunction with *addixissent* is rare and awkward.—*imperi potentes fecit*, "enabled them to regain their authority."—*suam* though grammatically referring to *ambitio*, must be taken as referring to *alterius*.—*eos*, i. e. *milites*, which word, however, has not occurred lately, and must be extracted by a rather difficult process, out of the thought contained in *imperi potentes*.

xliii. Hannibal in great distress for food for his army moves to Cannæ.—*annonam*, "the dearness of provisions."—*calidiora*. The country round about Gerconium was high ground. If he went into the neighbourhood of Cannæ, he would find himself in the middle of the great Apulian plain, where the harvest begins in May. It may be stated here, that Polybius gives a very different and much more probable account of the events preceding the battle. According to him, Hannibal, about the time of harvest, suddenly got possession of Cannæ, a town which commanded all the country round, and where the Romans had placed all their stores. The consuls of the former year sent to the senate to know what they should do, as they were running short of supplies, and if they approached nearer would be compelled to give battle. The senate hearing this, and knowing the temper of the allies, resolved to risk a battle, and hastened Æmilius and Varro out of the city to execute their decision. This takes off much of the blame from Varro, who has been depicted in such black colours chiefly because he was a double-dyed plebeian, a *novus homo*. He could not, however, have been the vulgar demagogue Livy makes him out to be; for the senate would never have thanked such a man publicly for not despairing of the republic; and such a man would never have been employed again, as Varro was continuously till the end of the war, in services of the most important nature.—*simul quod, &c.* This of course, was not the true reason, but the reason it suited Livy to give, in order to throw all the blame on Varro. Hannibal was not then in want of supplies, for he had the Roman supplies, taken at Cannæ, and his men were doubtless quite satisfied with their condition.—*ultra*, "beyond."—*trans*, "over, on the other side of."—*Cannas*, a small town, now Canne, about six miles from

the Aufidus, now the Ofanto, on its right bank. *Volturno vento*, the south-east wind, now called the scirocco.—*nubes pulveris.* The soil about Cannæ is of limestone; and, therefore, in summer, dry with "clouds of dust," ready to be raised by the scirocco.—*effuso*, "gathered from the plains to the south and poured out on them."

xliv. The Romans draw nearer to Hannibal, and encamp on the Aufidus. —*bina castra.* The two consuls, of course, (See c. xl.), presided over the larger one on the south bank of the river, and Servilius over the smaller one on the north bank.—*utrisque*, "the two *Roman* camps."—*trans Aufidum*, i. e. with respect to the larger camp.—*vel usu cepisset*, "had gained a right to it, as it were, by prescription." This phrase alludes to a law of the Twelve Tables, by which undisputed possession of moveables for one year, and of immoveables for two years gave the right of ownership. Hannibal has now been almost undisputed master of Italy, it is here argued, for two years; and, therefore, he may claim it now as legally his. —*projectis ac proditis*, "thrown away, nay, betrayed to," &c.—*videret*, i. e. *Varro.* "Let Varro see to it that," &c.

xlv. Varro irritated by the Numidian skirmishers gives the signal for battle. In order to understand the details of this battle it must be remembered that the Aufidus makes a large semi-circular curve in that part of the plain where the action was fought. The Romans drew up their line, more or less, along the diameter of the semicircle formed by the river, thus nullifying their superiority in numbers, because they could not extend their line so as to outflank the Carthaginians, who were drawn up between them and the river, and were therefore protected by it on either flank. The Carthaginians would, no doubt, in case of defeat, have been in a very perilous position, placed, as they were, between the river and the Romans. But Hannibal knew that defeat was next to impossible; and besides he would in that case have been so utterly ruined, that the small aggravation of a river in his rear would have not added very materially to his difficulties.—*trans flumen*, because the lesser camp of the Romans was on the north side of the Aufidus, and their greater camp, and all Hannibal's forces were on the south side at the time spoken of.—*stationem . . . . evecti sunt.* Somewhat in the same way *egredi urbem* is used without a preposition.—*tumultuario auxilio*, i. e. the Numidians, who were Hannibal's Cossacks.—*fuerit* is put here, where *fuit* might have been expected, in order to show that the clause in which it stands, not only gives the facts of the case, but also the subjective view of the Romans around, who fully agreed with and shared in Varro's folly and presumption. It has already been stated that Livy's account of Varro's proceedings are not to be implicitly received, as they altogether contradict the express statements of Polybius, and the probabilities of the case.—*sors* has both *ejus diei* and *imperi* dependent on it.—*signum*, the purple flag that was the well-known signal of battle.—*atque ita . . . acie* = "atque ita junctis utrorumque castrorum copiis."—*id . . . . propius.* They kept closer to the western side of the semicircle, because the lesser camp was there.—*Romanos equites* = 8 × 300, or 2400 in number.—*pedites*, i. e. *Romanos* = 8 × 5000 or 40000.—*extremi*, "at the extremity of the wing."—*equites sociorum* = 8 × 600, or 4800.—*pedites*, i. e. *sociorum* = 8 × 5000 = 40,000. These, at least, were the numbers of the entire Roman army. But from them must be subtracted 10,000 left, according to Polybius, iii. 117, to guard the greater camp, and those, always a large proportion in an army, who were sick and in hospital. Livy alludes in a general way, in c. lix., to the fact stated by Polybius, while in c. xlix., he makes out that the 10,000 escaped to the greater camp after the battle was over.

xlvi. Hannibal draws up his army in battle array to the south of the Romans, and between them and the Aufidus.—*transgressus flumen*, i. e., from the south bank to the north bank. The ground on the south bank was unfit for a battle, as the hills that confine the valley of the Aufidus on that side, leave only half a mile of even ground between them and the river. See the article on Cannæ in Smith's Dict. of Geog.—*Gallos Hispanosque equites*, Hannibal's heavy armed cavalry, so completely outnumbering the 2400 Romans opposed to them, as to ensure them a speedy victory, and enable them to get on the first opportunity to the rear of the Romans.—*dispares*, "unequal in goodness."—*dissimiles*, "unequal in appearance."—*prætextis purpura*, "bordered with purple."—*Hannibal ipse*, &c., because here were the manœuvres to be executed which were to decide the battle.—*locatis* may either be ablative absolute or the dative dependent on *erat*.—*Volturnum . . . . vocant*. Livy must have forgotten that he had said this before in c. xliii.

xlvii. The battle of Cannæ.—*auxiliis* is the dative of the agent. But probably Livy wrote *ab auxiliis*, and the *ab* was accidentally omitted by the transcriber, the next word beginning with the same vowel.—*minime equestris more pugnæ*: οὐ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ νόμους ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς καὶ μεταβολῆς ὁ κίνδυνος· ἀλλ' εἰσάπαξ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο συμπλεκόμενοι κατ' ἄνδρα, παρακαταβαίνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων (Pol. iii. 115).—*in directum*, &c., "struggling right onward on both sides."—*Stantibus . . . . equis*. "When the horses were standing still and were at last crowded together in the press."—*Primo*, &c. "At first the legions could hardly bear up in strength and spirit against the Gauls and Spaniards;" in strength, because the scirocco was blowing in their faces; in spirits, because they had just seen their cavalry on the right wing annihilated by the superior numbers of the enemy. This must be the meaning of the passage, from the circumstances of the case. Besides which, *ordines* would only be applied to Roman forces.—*acie densa* = "*compressis ordinibus*."—*cuneum*, μηνοειδὲς . . . . τὸ κύρτωμα (Pol. iii. 113).—*subsidia Afrorum*, i. e., the African troops who had been placed a little behind to the right and left of the Gauls and Spaniards, in order to execute the manœuvre of wheeling round on the flanks of the advancing Romans and so deciding the battle.—*æquavit frontem primum*, &c., passed from a convex to a rectilinear, and so from a rectilinear to a concave front (*sinum*).—*cornua jam fecerant*, &c., had already so extended themselves that they formed a right and left wing to the retreating body of the Gauls and Spaniards, and thus were able to attack the Romans on both flanks at once.—*mox cornua*, "the extremities of the wings (*alæ*) so formed."—*et* and *integram* are not both *needed*; but they are both inserted to add to the force of the sentence.

xlviii. Treacherous conduct of the Numidians.—*Punicâ cæptum fraude*. This nonsensical story is borrowed by Livy from Appian. Polybius of course does not mention it.—*in mala jam spe*, "though there was now little hope of victory."—*qui ea jam parte præerat*, "who was now commanding on *that* wing." Hasdrubal had originally been placed in command of the heavy horse on Hannibal's left wing. There he had almost annihilated the Roman cavalry opposed to him, and now came to replace the Numidians on Hannibal's right wing, by battling with the 4800 horse of the Roman allies, while he sent the Numidians to pursue the remains of the cavalry whom he had just routed on the other wing. Till then, the battle on that side, owing to the desultory mode of fighting peculiar to the Numidians, had been indecisive (*segnis*); but on the arrival of Hasdrubal with his victorious squadrons, τότε προϊδόμενοι τὴν ἔκβασιν αὐτῶν οἱ σύμ-

λαχοι τῶν Ρωμαίων ἱππεῖς, ἐκκλίναντες ἀπεχώρουν (Polyb. iii. 116). Upon this he threw himself on the rear of the mass of the Roman infantry who were still struggling with the Gauls and Spaniards in front, and the Africans on both flanks, and, according to Livy, in the rear too, and so decided the battle; which then quickly degenerated into a scene of mere carnage.

xlix. The Romans are utterly defeated. The noble death of Æmilius. The number of the slain.—*Parte altera* must mean "in the centre," for the left wing of the Romans has just been spoken of, and their right wing had already been destroyed. *Paulus* had begun the battle among the cavalry on the right wing. When that was routed, he went to the centre to oppose Hannibal, who was there in person.—*traderet*, i.e. *Æmilius*. "How much I should prefer that he should give them up to me in chains." —*Equitum pedestre &c.* = "Equitum qui ad pedes descenderant, pugna talis fuit, qualis esse poterat, quum haud dubia jam esset hostium victoria." Crev.—*Pepulerunt, &c.* "They did, however, put to flight those who remained, since they were but few in number and worn out with toil and wounds." It is difficult to understand how any got away, if Livy's account be strictly correct; for, according to him, they were surrounded on all sides. —*prætervehens* is the active imperfect participle used for the passive, because it has none of its own. So *pascens* and *versans* are used in a deponent sense.—*tollere* here = "to raise and keep up."—*advenit* is put in the present imperfect instead of the future, to show that Hannibal will certainly be there very soon.—*ex*, "after and in consequence of."—*hæc exagentes* = *"hæc inter se exagentes."* In this sense *agentes* is more common.—*in vicum ipsum Cannas.* This is not very likely, as Cannæ had long been in Hannibal's possession.—*Venusiam*, now Venosa in Naples, was on the borders of Apulia and Lucania, but in the former province.—*tanta* here is equivalent to *tantadem*, "just as great," "tanta prope civium quanta sociorum pars."—*cæsi* agrees with the sense of *pars* or of *millia*. The numbers are variously given by various writers. Polybius departs from the usual moderation of his statements, and says 70,000 Romans were killed.—*aliquot annis ante.* Minucius had been consul five years before, 553 A.U.C.

l. The survivors of the Roman army flee to Canusium.—*fuit*, "shared the fate of."—*in majoribus.* The larger camp lay on the south bank of the Aufidus, and therefore nearer Canusium than the smaller camp, which was on the north bank of the river. Hence the message to those in the smaller camp to come over to the larger one.—*Canusium*, now Canosa, a town of Apulia; a short distance south of the Aufidus.—*Romanus civis an Latinus socius.* The Romans were put into prison till they should be ransomed; the Latins and allies were dismissed, in order that they might be urged by Hannibal's generosity to tempt their countrymen to revolt from Rome.—*tua* is used here for *vestra*, to give force to the narrative, not with any intention of drawing an invidious line of distinction between the Romans and their allies.—*alteri*, i.e. *hosti.*—*non tu*, "not thou," says Tuditanus, looking at the boldest man near him. Then he changes to the plural, *si . . . . cives estis*, in order not to seem to attribute cowardice to them.—*cives*, "*fellow* citizens."—*in dextrum.* Their left sides would be protected by the river, in travelling along the north bank of the river westward, to get opposite to the larger camp.—*ad sexcenti. Sexcenti* is attracted into the nominative to be the subject of *evaserunt.*—*quod*, "whatsoever."

li. Hannibal refuses to march upon Rome. The horrors of the battle-field.—*bello*, not *pugna*, as if the war were now virtually finished.—*diu*

and *noctis* both depend on *quietem:* "he should take to himself a rest consisting of that day, so much, that is, as was left of it, and of the following night."—*majorque, &c.,* "too great for their minds to be able to take in at once." They did not understand, that is, what an immense undertaking they wished him to embark in. It has already been said that Rome was a first-class fortress; and Hannibal was too wise to attempt to attack it, especially in the most unhealthy season of the year. His army, even if untouched by the Romans, would have been destroyed by malaria; in consequence not one Italian state would have joined him, and his whole project would have been thenceforth impracticable.—*temporis opus esse.* The genitive after *opus* is found again in xxiii. 21: "quanti argenti opus fuit."—*insistere ad &c.* is a very rare construction.—*ut quem, &c.* = "*ut quem cuique casus adjunxerat aut in pugna aut in fuga*" (Crev.)—*stricta,* "drawn together," "staunched."—*convertit,* i. e. *in se.*

lii. Both the Roman camps are given up to Hannibal.—*brachio,* "a line of fortification."—*quadrigatis,* i. e. *numis,* silver *denarii,* on which was the figure of Apollo in a *quadriga* or four-horsed chariot.—*si quid argenti,* i. e. *erat,* to be supplied from the next clause.—*ad vescendum facto,* i. e. *argento* = "silver plate."—*senato,* a very rare form of the ablative of *senatus.*—So *senati* sometimes occurs for the genitive.

liii. A conspiracy to leave Italy, on the part of some of the young nobles who have survived the battle of Cannæ, is crushed by the younger Scipio.—*conploratam,* "mourned for as dead."—*quorum principem,* i. e. *esse.*—*consilium,* "a council of war," not *concilium,* as some editors have, because in a council of war, the notion of counsel (*consilium*) prevails over that of a council, or *calling together* into one place (*concilium*).—*fatalis dux,* "the destined leader."—*ait,* though it might have been supplied out of the preceding *negat,* is inserted to give force to the sentence.—*ex mei animi, &c.* "With full purpose of soul (I swear that,) as I will not desert the republic of the Roman people, so neither will I allow any other Roman citizen to desert it."—*neque* here may have *sic* or *ita* supplied before it.—*si sciens fallo,* "if I wittingly break my vow." So xxi. 45. *Si falleret, Jovem ceterosque precatus deos, &c.*

liv. Four thousand five hundred men take refuge in Venusia. The consternation at Rome.—*togas,* i. e. *singulas.* "Hinc et ex aliis itidem Livii locis (xxix. 3 et 36; xliv. 16), patet togas etiam a militantibus gestatas. At primo intelligendum est eos togis usos esse, non in acie, sed in hibernis aut in otio castrorum. Deinde ex eo quod hic solorum equitum fiat mentio, et in duobus ultimis locis supra memoratis numerus togarum quæ mittuntur ad exercitus, longe minor sit tunicarum numero, nec sufficiens profecto ad totum exercitum vestiendum, colligit Aldus Man: . . . togas honestioribus tantum in usu fuisse, puta equitibus, centurionibus, &c." (Crev.)—*populus Venusinus.* Being a Roman colony, it might be termed *populus.*—*et jam, &c.,* "and indeed there were already, &c."; *et* introducing the grounds of the previous statement.—*occidione occisum,* "utterly annihilated."—*neque adgrediar narrare.* He had already thoroughly exhausted the subject in depicting the grief at Rome after the battle of the Lake Trasymennus.—*quæ . . . . faciebant,* "in the handling of which they (that is, the writers who treated of the subject) only fell below the truth."—*Consule, &c.* "After a consul and an army had been lost at Trasymennus in the former year, not merely one wound upon another similar wound was announced to have occurred, but a manifold greater disaster, the loss of two consuls and two consular armies," &c.—*omisso* = *amisso* here, the preposition *ob* having the same force as it has

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020